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## EARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

### II.

#### THE WESTERN MESSENGER.

THE Western Messenger, a magazine devoted to religion and literature, and published by the Western Unitarian association, was started in Cincinnati, June, 1835. The first volume comprised twelve monthly numbers; the seven succeeding volumes included six numbers each, a volume every half year. The last issue appeared April, 1841. The magazine was edited until March, 1836, by Rev. Ephraim Peabody, an amiable young man of fine poetical ability, who was born in New Hampshire in 1807. Mr. Peabody was taken ill and was obliged to go south. The management of the periodical was devolved upon the Rev. James Freeman

Clarke,\* and the place of publication was changed to Louisville, Kentucky, where Mr. Clarke was stationed as minister to a Unitarian society. In 1840 Mr. Clarke returned to Boston, where he soon afterward founded the Free church, in which he is still the pastor. The Messenger was removed to Cincinnati, and was edited by Rev. W. H. Channing, who was ordained pastor of the Unitarian

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\*James Freeman Clarke, D. D., was born in New Hampshire, April 4, 1810. Graduated at Harvard in 1829, and at Cambridge Divinity school in 1833. Resided at Louisville 1833-1840. Founded Church of Disciples, Boston, 1841, of which he is still the pastor. Author of 'Life of General Wm. Hull,' 1848; 'Eleven Weeks in Europe,' 1851; 'Christian Doctrine of Forgiveness,' 'Ten Great Religions,' etc., etc.

church of this city May 10, 1839. Channing was much assisted by his cousin, Rev. James H. Perkins, who indeed was a contributor to the *Messenger* from the start, and whose best literary work was published in it.

The *Western Messenger* was, of course, denominational, and derived support from eastern Unitarians, who took an active interest in planting their ideas in the west. Its subscription list was never large, and its pecuniary struggles were constant. Few complete copies of the work are to be had, and I am told that sets are very costly. Mr. U. P. James, the veteran publisher and dealer in old and rare books, remembers sorting out a "great pile" of the *Western Messenger*, which Mr. Perkins brought to the store on Walnut street, about the year 1845.

The *Western Messenger* was essentially an eastern messenger—the organ of New England liberalism in the Valley of the Ohio. Devoted to religion and literature, it was even more literary than religious, and both its theology and its literature were tinged with transcendentalism. No other periodical that has appeared in the Ohio valley is richer than it in original and suggestive contributions, and I doubt if any other contains so much fine and delicate writing. A good deal of the contents, it must be allowed, is hasty and crude; a good deal is flimsy and sentimental; but after making allowance for chaff and cockle, there is left plenty of pure wheat.

The first editor, Mr. Peabody, and his enthusiastic friend, Mr. Perkins, were imbued with the idea of "encouraging" and developing the literary spirit of what

was then "the west." They invited to their columns the aid of William D. Gallagher, Otway Curry, Thomas H. Shreve and other western writers. "It ought to be one object of a western journal to encourage western literature," wrote the editor. In accordance with this principle the magazine made prominent a series of carefully prepared articles on "Western Poetry." These articles gave conspicuous reviews of the literary productions of William D. Gallagher, F. W. Thomas, Lewis F. Thomas, C. D. Drake, J. G. Drake, Albert Pike, John B. Dillon and Thomas Shreve. Readers of to-day will smile or sigh to read the critical opinion that "Mr. Shreve has a Bulwerian control over language and a Byronic grandeur of imagination and gloom of thought."

A leading western contributor to the *Messenger* was Mann Butler, who furnished a number of valuable sketches on the "Manners and Habits of the Western Pioneers."

After James Freeman Clarke took hold of the magazine, the editorial tone was changed, and a new set of contributors began to write. Among the regular correspondents were Rev. George W. Hosmer, who, coming from Northfield, Massachusetts, organized a church in Rochester, and Rev. William G. Eliot, who established his famous society in St. Louis.

In response to a letter of inquiry concerning the *Western Messenger*, Dr. Clarke kindly sent the following:

JAMAICA PLAINS, MASS., Feb. 19, 1886.

DEAR MR. VENABLE:—If I were not laboring under an indisposition, I should like to write you

at length about the Western Messenger and its contributors. It was rather a vivacious affair, ranging from grave to gay, from lively to serious. We were the first to publish any of Emerson's poetry. We had a contribution from Dr. Channing and a poem from John Keats not before printed, and one which Wendell Holmes sent to me.

. . . . . The Messenger was a wandering star. First published in Cincinnati, it came to Louisville, where Eph. Peabody became an invalid, and went back again because the facilities were better in Cincinnati than in Louisville. While in the latter, I was not only editor but also publisher, and even went about once in Kentucky to get subscribers. I found I could import paper to print it on from Boston, *via* New Orleans, at less cost than I could buy in Louisville, and did so. When the number was ready for distribution, I recollect that Cranch or Osgood, or whoever happened to be with me, and I would fold, direct and carry the copies to the post-office. Sam Osgood and I were carrying the basketful to the post-office one evening when we met a stout Negro and offered him a "quarter" to take it for us. He lifted the basket and put it down again, saying, "Too heavy, massa!" So we took it ourselves.

When you see Mr. Gallagher, give him my kind regards. He and Edward Cranch are the only survivors of the Messenger group that I know of now in Cincinnati. I have the original subscription book, and of the Cincinnati names—Foote, Donaldson, Lawler, Yardy, Urner, Hastings, Sampson, Jos. Longworth, Timothy Walker, Evert, Shoenberger, Thomas Bakewell, Ryland, etc.—I fancy all are gone.

I am glad you propose to do justice to the forgotten magazine, which, in its day, was, I think, a rather respectable effort for the young people who wrote in it.

Yours,

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

The poem by John Keats, referred to in the above, is the "Ode to Apollo," beginning,

"God of the golden bow,  
And of the golden lyre,  
And of the golden hair,  
And of the golden fire;  
Charioteer  
Of the patient year;  
Where, where slept thine ire,

When like a blank idiot I put on thy wreath,  
Thy laurel, thy glory,  
The light of thy story;  
Or was I a worm, too low-crawling for death?  
A Delphic Apollo!"

The original manuscript of this ode was presented to the editor by George Keats, a brother of the poet, who lived in Louisville, and a sketch of whose life was written by James Freeman Clarke. In the Messenger were also printed extracts from a journal kept by John Keats in England and Scotland, in 1818. Introducing these extracts to his readers, the editor notes it as strange "to meet with the original papers of Keats at the Falls of the Ohio."

In October, 1836, there appeared in the Messenger a long letter written from Boston, in June of the same year, by the distinguished Dr. William E. Channing. This letter, I believe, does not appear in Dr. Channing's collected works, although some passages of it are finished in his best literary style. Readers of to-day will find food for reflection in what so eminent an observer thought of Boston some fifty years ago:

Shall I say a word of evil of this good city of Boston? Among all its virtues, it does not abound in a tolerant spirit. The yoke of opinion is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action. No city in the world is governed so little by a police and so much by mutual inspection and what is called public sentiment. We stand more in awe of one another than most people. Opinion is less individual, or runs more into masses, and often rules with a rod of iron.

Interesting also to dwellers in the central states will it be to read the great preacher's views regarding the then west. The letter says:

All our accounts of the west make me desire to visit it. I desire to see nature under new aspects;

but still more to see a new form of society. I hear of the defects of the west ; but I learn that a man there feels himself to be a man, and that he has a self-respect which is not always found in older communities ; that he speaks his mind freely ; that he acts from more generous impulses and less selfish calculations. These are good tidings. I rejoice that the intercourse between the east and the west is increasing. Both will profit. The west may learn from us the love of order, the arts which adorn and cheer life, the institutions of education and religion, which lie at the foundation of our greatness, and may give us in return the energies and virtues which belong to and distinguish a fresher state of society.

You press me to come and preach in your part of the country. I should do it cheerfully if I could. It would rejoice me to bear testimony, however feeble, to great truths in your new settlements. I confess, however, that my education would unfit me for great usefulness among you. I fear the habits, rules and criticisms under which I have grown up and almost grown old have not left me the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the western people. I have fought against these chains. I have labored to be a free man, but in the state of the ministry and of society here, freedom is a hard acquisition. I hope the rising generation will gain it more easily and abundantly than their fathers.

The young men who vented their opinions in the Western Messenger availed themselves of the intellectual freedom which "a new form of society" afforded. They said their say more boldly than New England encouraged them to do. The iron rod of public sentiment was not so threatening in Louisville and Cincinnati as in Boston. Thinkers, such as Samuel Osgood and C. P. Cranch, began their literary career in this western periodical. Cranch was for a time Clarke's assistant in Louisville.

Clarke was an enthusiastic student of German literature and philosophy, and he translated for the Messenger DeWette's 'Theodore, or the Skeptic's Progress to Belief,' afterwards reprinted in George

Ripley's "Specimens" of German literature. There was a department of "Orphic Sayings," from Goethe, and one or two of Goethe's stories. Rev. Charles T. Brooks contributed many translations from Krummacker, Herder, Uhland and other German poets. J. S. Dwight also wrote original poems and translations of both prose and verse for the Messenger. Dwight won a permanent place in literature by producing the well-known verses beginning,

" Life is not quitting  
The busy career ;  
Life is the fitting  
Of self to its sphere. "

It is not strange that the editor of the Messenger, saturated as he was with German literature and transcendental philosophy, should be one of the first to admire Carlyle, and among the first to discover the rising genius of Emerson. When Emerson's 'Nature' appeared in 1836, Osgood reviewed it in the Messenger. He said, "There are some things in this book that we do not understand ;" but discovered in the luminous pages a "wonderful dawn." Commenting on Emerson's oration before the Phi Beta Kappa society in 1837, C. P. Cranch wrote : "It is full of beauties, full of original thought. Every sentence indicates the man of genius, the bold, deep thinker, the original writer."

It is a fact memorable in the history of letters that Emerson first appeared in print as a poet on the banks of the Ohio. He contributed to the Western Messenger, *gratis*, the poems : "Each and All," "The Humble-bee," "Good-bye, Proud World," and "The Rhodora." These are among his best metrical pieces. "Good-bye,



Proud World," is perhaps his most popular lyric. It came out in April, 1839, but is subscribed "Canterbury Road, 1823." On comparing these verses as they were printed originally, with the later copies as they stand in the author's volumes, one discovers many curious verbal changes. In some cases considerable addition has been made to the first version, and in other cases passages have been left out. The alterations are invariably obvious improvements. For instance, the expression, "Vulgar feet have never trod," is happily substituted for "Evil men have ever trod." The first line of the quaint and beautiful poem on "The Humble-bee,"

"Burly, dozing humble-bee,"

originally read badly, thus:

"Fine humble-bee! fine humble-bee!"

In the letter from Mr. Clarke, allusion is made to a poem sent to the Western Messenger by Oliver Wendell Holmes. The poem was that entitled, "The Parting Word," which admirers of the author will recall when I quote the first line:

"I must leave thee, lady sweet."

Another literary star, not of the first magnitude, yet of a clear and lasting lustre, that rose from the east to shine in Clarke's western galaxy, was the religious poet, Jones Very. This eccentric character, in March, 1839, sent the following curious letter from Boston to Louisville:

REV. J. F. CLARKE, editor Western Messenger:

Hearing of your want of matter for your Messenger, I was moved to send you the above sonnets that they may help those in affliction, for Christ's name is ever the prayer of me, his disciple, called to be a witness of his sufferings and an expectant of his glory. If you ask for more—as I have them—so will they be communicated, freely. Amen.

The hope of Jesus be with you when you are called to be a partaker of his temptations.

JONES VERY.

The letter was accompanied by twenty-seven sonnets, which were published, as were many other of Very's poems, from time to time, in the Messenger. Nearly all of these are included in the edition of Very's poems issued a few years ago.

Clarke was an appreciator of Hawthorne's early work. He reprinted "Footsteps on the Sea-shore" from the first edition of 'Twice Told Tales,' and wrote an editorial comment: "Since the days of Elia we have seen nothing to compare with it. It has all of Washington Irving's delightful manner with a profounder meaning and a higher strain of sentiment."

Among the contributors to the Messenger were two women who afterwards became well known in letters—Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody and the more celebrated Margaret Fuller. The latter sent her friend Clarke a number of articles, reviews on "George Crabbe and Hannah More," on "Bulwer," on "Letters from Palmyra," and a paper on "Philip van Arteveld." Her contributions were signed S. M. F.—Sarah Margaret Fuller.

When Clarke left Louisville for Boston, the Western Messenger was removed to Cincinnati, as stated above, and Rev. W. H. Channing became editor, assisted by Rev. James H. Perkins. The magazine grew more than ever devoted to German translations and to transcendental, poetic theology. The many articles furnished by Perkins were filled with earnest, practical fact and thought, and possess a high value.

In June, 1840, the editor wrote: "Our friend, Mr. Bronson Alcott of Boston, has kindly given us his prose poem, 'Psyche, or the Growth of the Soul.'" But

"Psyche" never unfolded her silvery wings before the readers of the Western Messenger.

The magazine vanished in a sort of rosy mist in budding April, 1841. There was a conditional promise on the last page of the last number that the publication of it might be resumed in July; but the promise failed. The periodical was an exotic—a Boston flower blooming in the Ohio valley.

The Western Magazine was a harbinger of the famous Boston Dial, which made its first appearance in July, 1840. It is a very interesting and notable fact that at least ten of the contributors to the Messenger were also among the writers for the Dial. These were Emerson, Fuller, Clarke, E. P. Peabody, Dwight, Brooks, F. H. Hedge, W. H. Channing, Cranch and Very. Miss Peabody was the first publisher of the Dial, and Margaret Fuller and Emerson were its editors. Of the ten, all were born between the years 1803 and 1813, and four, Cranch, Dwight, Brooks and Very, were born in 1813. I cannot better close this article than by quoting from the final volume and number of the Western Messenger this word of praise and prophecy:

We have not said a word of the Dial, for we are slow to praise our own family, and the writers of the periodical are our dear friends. Therefore, one word only, readers—believe not the geese who have hissed their loudest at this newcomer. Such foolish creatures cannot save the capitol. The Dial marks an era in American literature. It is the wind-flower of a new spring in the western world. For profound thought, a pure tone of personal and social morality, wise criticism and fresh beauty, the Dial has never been equaled in America.

W. D. GALLAGHER'S "HESPERIAN."

No other man has done so much for the cause of western periodical literature as William D. Gallagher. He has been connected editorially with numerous magazines and newspapers, including *The Western Minerva*, *The Cincinnati Mirror*, *The Western Literary Journal*, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the *Louisville Courier*, the *Ohio State Journal*. But his most important literary venture was the *Hesperian*. He has given us the history of the publication in the following words:

In the winter of 1837-38 Mr. Gallagher projected at Columbus, Ohio, where he was then residing, a work of larger size and more diversified character than any he had yet attempted in the west, or, so far as the writer knows, in the United States. This was the *Hesperian*, which appeared in May following, W. D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, editors; John D. Nichols, publisher; Charles Scott and John M. Gallagher, printers; ninety-four pages super-royal octavo, double column; five dollars per year subscription. This work was so exclusively one of the writer's own projecting; it was made to bend so entirely to his ideas of what such a periodical should be; his own pen furnished such a large proportion of its entire contents; his reputation was so intimately connected with it; his fame and fortune so staked upon its success, and his humiliation at its failure so deep and abiding, that he feels he is not the proper one to write its history. He is proud to say that no similar work was ever received in the United States with more decided marks of favor. Its characterizing feature was one of *usefulness*; its numerous articles on the early history of the state, on its agricultural resources, on its manufacturing industry, on its commercial channels, on its mineral treasures, on its literary and humane institutions, on its geology, flora, etc., were appreciated by a circle of readers of which any periodical might boast. The best talent of the west was engaged contributing to its pages, and on its subscription books the names of the educated and intelligent were most liberally written. But notwithstanding all this, through the grossest remissness and most

culpable mismanagement on the part of its publisher, the publication of the work was suspended at the close of the third volume—eighteen months from its commencement. Over the causes of this suspension the writer, then alone in the editorship, had no control, and he was in no manner pecuniarily responsible for the injustice done by it to that portion of the subscribers who had paid for the full second year. He declined subsequent propositions from the publisher to re-commence the work, in the first place, because his confidence in the integrity of that individual had been shaken, and in the next,

because the propositions were accompanied by conditions which would have made it necessary materially to modify the plan of the publication, which would have left him without an adequate support. In this manner, what was at first in reality only a *suspension* of the work became a discontinuance of it. His long and bitter regret at this mortifying termination of a venture on which he had staked so much, it is useless to speak of, as it can be measured by the feelings of no one who has not been circumstanced similarly with himself.

W. H. VENABLE.

## THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

### V.

#### OPPOSITION, COMMENT AND INCIDENT.

NATURALLY this giant of the mechanical and commercial world did not advance to certain success without opposition. Behind the doubt and conservatism of the general world lay the vested interests of those by whom other means of communication and transportation had been created, and whose material property was placed in peril by this new form of competition. Opposition of a most important character was met at various points.

We have seen how the stage-coach and carriers' wagons were quoted as substantial reasons why canals should not be dug, and the railroad was compelled to face not only this old protest but that of the canal as well. As late as 1830 we find a well-informed writer making a curious calculation in reference to the railroads of England and their dire effects, in something of the

following strain: Nearly a hundred million pounds a year are to be saved by the disuse of horses and drivers. Said horses require as much land for their support as would maintain fourteen million persons. A great revolution in the value of horse-flesh is surely at hand, and scores of thousands of persons who have subsisted by their labor in various ways, such as supplying their food and taking care of them, will be thrown out of employment. And then he asks: "What are these people to do, in a thickly settled country like England, already in a state of over-production, through the aid of scientific power?"

Another railroad economist, equally ingenious, but an optimist, answers this question to his own evident satisfaction: "The man who started the first steam carriage," he declares, "was the great-

est benefactor to the cause of humanity the world ever had! Nothing could so successfully produce such complete mitigation, or rather abolition of animal suffering, as the substitution of locomotive machinery for the inhuman, merciless treatment of horses in stage-coaches." He also hails the change as a blessed one from another point of view. "We have," he declares, "a superabundant population, with a limited territory; while each horse requires a greater quantity of land than would be sufficient to support a man! How extensive, then, will be the beneficial effects of withdrawing two-thirds of the horses, and appropriating the land required for them to the raising of cattle and to agricultural purposes. The Liverpool & Manchester steam coaches have driven fourteen horse coaches off the road already. Each of these coaches employed twelve horses, there being three stages and a change of four horses each stage. The total number of horses employed was therefore one hundred and sixty-eight. Each horse, it is calculated, consumes on an average in pasturage, hay, corn, etc., etc., annually, the produce of one acre and a half. The whole number would thus consume the produce of two hundred and fifty-two acres. Now, suppose every man had his acre, upon which to rear his family, the maintenance of two hundred and fifty-two families is gained to the country by these steam coaches. Taking the average number in a family at six, it will be seen that the subsistence of fifteen hundred and twelve individuals is thus obtained."

Even the London Monthly Magazine took a part in the controversy, declaring that "farmers, who are the most timid of good people and about the most short-sighted, cry out that horses will cease. That is very doubtful; they may be in still greater demand; but should draught horses cease to be, what then? Fewer oats will be wanted, and more wheat may be grown for men, or more turnips for sheep."

Then the cry of "monopoly" was raised, even thus early; and those who had the interests of the various projected lines in control were compelled to meet it and make answer. In a report submitted to the National house of representatives, on February 21, 1829, in reference to a memorial of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, it is deemed necessary to touch upon that point, which is done in the following words: "In examining the charter of the railroad company, the committee are aware that the provision prohibiting any other company or person from traveling upon or using any of the roads of the company without its license, seems to render it obnoxious to the charge of a close monopoly; but they have considered that in the transportation of all property on the railway, wagons of a particular and uniform construction only must be used, each having a proper adaptation to the rail, and that this consideration, with others which might be given, may require such a provision in the charter. The committee see no cause of alarm from this restriction. The interests of the company will at all times be best promoted by



consulting that of the public. Time and experience will disclose the methods by which the great and paramount interests of the community can be most effectually subserved, and there can be no doubt but that the same patriotic views which prompted this undertaking will lead to the adoption of such regulations as shall prove best calculated to secure a safe, cheap and speedy communication." Some years later, it will be found that this cry of "monopoly" was taken up and repeated with some vigor.

There was such opposition at times, altogether of a verbal character, from those interested in the canals, that an amusing burlesque was prepared by some unknown genius in the early days of 1830, at the expense of the canals, and sent forth to set two continents in a laugh. As illustrating in a pointed and admirable manner some points of attack and reply that can be conveyed to the reader of to-day in no other way, that screed is deemed worthy of insertion here. We find it in the discreet pages of no less a scientific and political luminary than Niles\* himself—and it must, indeed, have been of great popular comment and approval to have found embalment in that precious crypt of current events. Under the caption of "*Canals versus Railways*," the writer soberly proceeds:

"At the Court of Common Sense, held at Lancaster, the following trial excited a strong sensation among a crowded auditory. There were present many of

the land-owners, merchants, bankers, etc., of this and the adjacent county of Chester, and many of the engineers engaged in the trial of locomotive engines at Rainhill.

"Executors of the Duke of Bridgewater and others *versus* the Proprietors of the Liverpool & Manchester railway.

"This was a case in which damages were sued for from the defendants, on the ground that they had constructed a certain tunnel and railway between Liverpool and Manchester, for the purpose of conveying thereupon, in certain vehicles, goods and passengers, to the great injury of the plaintiffs, as carriers, if not to the utter annihilation of their trade.

"The plaintiffs' counsel, addressing the jury, said that it originally had been his intention to proceed against the defendants by indictment, and they had to thank the lenity of his clients that that intention had not been carried into effect. They were clearly indictable for trespass, nuisance, etc., and he had even drawn up the indictment, in which there were three hundred and seventy-five counts, setting forth the gravamen of the offence in its several lights. In one of these counts it was stated that the defendants did, with and by means of pickaxes, sledge-hammers, small hammers, chisels, mallets, levers and other like instruments, and also with trams or rails, engines, winches, chains, pulleys, spades, trowels, wagons, carts and wheel-barrows of iron, steel, wood or other material, and also with gunpowder, did drive, make and construct

\* 'Niles' Register,' No. 38, August 14, 1830, p. 443.

a huge tunnel, bore or excavation under the town of Liverpool; and did also make and construct a railroad within the said tunnel, and did extend the same, through hills and over valleys, to the distance of the town of Manchester; and that, with wagons, coaches, cars, carts, barouches, chaises, gigs, phaetons, locomotive engines, stationary engines, horses, mules, oxen and asses, they do purpose to take or convey merchandise and other chattels, and men, women and children, cattle, sheep, pigs, geese, ducks and the like, to and from the towns of Manchester and Liverpool, aforesaid respectively, and to and from intermediate places on the said line of road, at the rate of forty miles an hour, to the endangerment of the lives of his majesty's subjects, and to the pecuniary injury of the plaintiffs, as carriers by canal. In this manner, the learned gentleman said, he had drawn out as many counts as filled nine hundred and eighty-three folios, when he received instruction to waive the proceedings by indictment and to proceed by civil process.

"The plaintiffs had, he continued, embarked a large amount of capital in the formation of canals, and the consequent facilities of transit had done much to promote the commerce of the country for years. A canal afforded a safe and regular conveyance of goods at all times and at all seasons. It was not only useful but ornamental to the districts through which it passed, for it supplied the place of a river, and enlivened the country by bearing on its glassy surface a constant succession of flats and flyboats. And what was

it the defendants offered in lieu of such an admirable mode of conveyance? or what advantages was the public to derive from the innovation they were about to introduce? Why, truly, the transit of goods between Liverpool and Manchester at a rate somewhat speedier than by canal—a very questionable advantage—and the conveyance of passengers in machines drawn by locomotive engines traveling at a rate which must necessarily produce accidents, numerous and fatal, and which can serve no purpose but to afford the foolhardy who adventure upon them and alight in safety an opportunity of boasting of their courage, as if they had ascended in a balloon. He would admit that the discreet portion of the community would not be affected by such gim-crack contrivances, for no man would mount such ungovernable vehicles who had any brains in his skull to be knocked out. The stage-coaches already conveyed passengers at the rate of ten miles an hour, a speed sufficient for any reasonable man, whether he travels on business or for amusement, and all locomotion beyond that rate would only gratify idlers and facilitate the escape of thieves and vagabonds on the completion of new depredation. A man might steal a watch in Liverpool in the forenoon and sell it in London in six hours to enable him to pay for his dinner. He shuddered, too, to think of the demoralizing effects of Sunday excursions on the vehicles; for Manchester and Liverpool would exchange weekly cargoes of visitors from the dregs of society. He stated that ever

since the railway obtained so much notoriety the canal shares had suffered a depression, and it was probable that when the whole line was opened, the canals would be of no more use than so many ditches, in which lads might fish for eels. He therefore prayed for a large amount of damages, and hoped to see the day when the railroad would be made into a macadamized highway, and the tunnel converted into a public cemetery, in which the proprietors might excavate family vaults for themselves and their posterity. Were this not done, the public safety demanded that the tunnel should be hermetically sealed up, for if some mischievous persons were to deposit in it a few barrels of gunpowder, and lay a train, the town with its inhabitants might be blown up and scattered to the winds of heaven.

"Some witnesses having been examined, the defendants' counsel rose. His learned friend had, he said, directed much of his raillery at the railway, which was not the *rale* way to gain his point. The tunnel was a great bore to the learned gentleman, and his remarks very arch upon that magnificent arch. He seemed also to be cut by the several cuts in the line, and he has condemned our iron ways by way of irony. He had not, however, interrupted him, and he had permitted the safety-valve of his indignation to remain open, and now that his learned friend's steam was exhausted, his was up, and he should endeavor to reply to him.

"That canals had done much to increase and facilitate commercial intercourse, he was willing to admit, but

when parliament sanctioned their formation, it did not contemplate that the proprietors should enjoy a monopoly of the carrying business. It was not intended that others, with sufficient talent, capital and enterprise, should be restrained from introducing a more approved and expeditious mode of conveyance, a mode which should embrace the valuable discoveries of the times and be more according to existing circumstances. Such an assumption would involve a grievance which a free people would be justified in resisting. The plaintiffs complained of the deterioration of their property, owing to the defendants having come into the market as competitors with a locomotion superior to their own. The public were the only legitimate arbiters in such cases, and it appeared to him that the plaintiffs had no just cause of complaint. They had long enjoyed a large share of the carrying business, and they might still with moderate charges go on and prosper, but, like petted children, they began to cry out before they were hurt. His learned friend had advanced some arguments in favor of canals which demanded investigation. He had said they afforded at all times a desirable conveyance. He overlooked the fact that, during severe frosts, the canal navigation is often entirely stopped, and that goods are frequently detained for days or weeks, to the great disappointment and injury of the trader. That canals enlivened and beautified the country, he denied, unless indeed, a muddy, stagnant, interminable pool possessed such properties, and that a

flat or a dung-barge lazily dragged by a poor horse, traversing a gentleman's park, was an object of interest, would admit of equal question. Canals had, however, the advantage of railways in two points: they were generally twice as long from town to town, so that the flyboat passenger had the pleasure of a whole day's sail from Runcorn to Manchester, for instance, by the tortuous windings of the watery way; and secondly, canals served in lieu of ponds for the accommodation of the geese and ducks of the neighboring farmers. Near Manchester, too, the canal was so black by the deposits from chemical and other works that he verily believed Day and Martin derived from it their liquid blacking at the mere expense of filling the bottles. His learned friend had made several extraneous remarks upon the locomotive engines. He had endeavored to impress upon the minds of the jury that their application would involve continual accident. The point is irrelevant, but were it otherwise, how stands the case? At the trial of speed at Rainhill, when the engines were put to their full power, and the experiments could only be considered in their infancy, no accident whatever occurred; and so little fear was entertained that many ladies, who would have trembled to mount a stage-coach for a journey, expressed a strong desire to take a seat on the machines, although their velocity was ascertained to be thirty miles an hour. They were not liable to upset, and were easily controlled by the engineers, while stage-coaches were liable to frequent accident, both from the

running of the horses and from upsetting. The speed with which these engines traveled would be of the greatest advantage to the community at large. They would so approximate Manchester and Liverpool that they would be within an hour's ride of each other, and he verily believed that in a few years, such were the scientific and mechanical improvements of the times, the distance might be accomplished in thirty minutes. In conclusion, he would remark that the canal owners had no more right to complain of the railways than the makers of verge watches had to complain of the makers of patent levers.

"No witnesses being called for the defence, the learned judge summed up, and having expressed his opinion that the defendants had done some injury to the plaintiffs, he submitted the case to the jury.

"The jury, after a short consultation, gave a verdict for the plaintiffs, damages one farthing."

Not so amusing, but altogether to the purpose, was the fight made by the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal company against the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company in the early days of advance westward. The injunction was even then one of the weapons of offence and defence in railroad suits; and in the third annual report of the president and board of directors of the railway company, under date of October 12, 1829, the cause and beginning of the long-drawn and troublesome controversy is fully stated. They declared that the further progress of the work west of the Point of Rocks must of necessity be sus-



pendent until the termination of the suits then pending with the canal company. The suits were themselves described in these words: "Certain subscribers to the stock of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal company, a body not then organized, and some of the members of the Potomac company, conceiving themselves interested in the proceedings of the board of directors on the bank of the Potomac, obtained an injunction from the county court of Washington county, restraining the further proceedings of the board, in obtaining titles to lands over which the railroad had been definitely located. This was followed by an injunction, obtained by the railroad company from the high court of chancery, restraining the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal company from taking any steps in the construction or locating the canal, which might render unavailing a decision in favor of the road on the first injunction. As the owners in fee, however, of the Pass of the Potomac through the Catoctin mountain at the Point of Rocks, the board of directors still continued to prosecute their work at that place, and in pursuance of the system adopted by them, had advertised for contracts and commenced the work there, when a second injunction was obtained, restraining the directors from conducting the road at all, within the limits of Frederick county, although the greatest part of the road within that county could never in any manner come into collision with the canal. This last injunction, however, so far as it related to land eastward of the Point of Rocks,

was subsequently withdrawn by the canal company."

The directors further declare that they are anxious to avoid all trouble with the canal company, and hope for a favorable issue "at the final hearing in chancery, and in the courts of ultimate result, should the canal company determine to proceed still further in litigation."

A temporary damper was placed upon that hope in January, 1832, when the court of appeal, sitting at Annapolis, reversed a favorable decree of the lower court and gave one against the railroad company, for the purpose of preventing it from appropriating or using land for the road until the line of the canal should be located between the Point of Rocks and Harper's Ferry. The canal company asserted a prior and paramount right-of-way through that region, and the court sustained that view. A meeting of the directors was promptly called, and a determination formally expressed to go forward with the road in one way if they could not in another. Resolutions were adopted declaring that the company yet had "an undiminished confidence in the practicability of constructing the road to the west, within the time originally contemplated, and with results not less beneficial to the state of Maryland, the Union and the city of Baltimore than profitable to the stockholders, which confidence is founded upon the well-known character of the country, admitting of the construction of the road in Virginia, with all the advantages of close connection

with the rich valley of that state—upon the now confessed superiority of the railroad over all other known modes as a means of inter-communication, both with regard to time, economy and commercial advantages—and upon the strong conviction which is rapidly gaining ground in the public mind, that this claim of superiority is placed beyond doubt by the experience of this country and of England.”

The president was directed to take immediate measures to ascertain the best route left open to the Ohio river, by causing examinations to be made by the engineers. As the decision of the court was final, but four alternatives were left :\* First, to procure, if practicable, the permission of the canal company for the joint construction of the two works from the Point of Rocks to Harper's Ferry, from which place various routes were open to the railroad ; second, to construct the railroad alongside of the canal, upon such site as might remain unoccupied after the right of choice had been exercised by the canal company ; third, to cross the Potomac river at the Point of Rocks, and ascend the southern or Virginia shore ; and fourth, to tunnel through the mountain spurs.

A period of fruitless negotiations between the rival interests followed, until the legislature of the state, from which the rights and powers of both were derived, finally interfered. A committee was appointed to examine the mountain pass at the Point of Rocks, and “ascertain whether it was practicable to locate

both lines through it without serious detriment to each other.” The result of such examination was the opinion that with a proper economy of room, and with a slight added expense, it was feasible. The railroad company promptly offered to pay all expenses to which the canal might be exposed by yielding the needed room, but the proffer was declined. A plan was finally suggested to the legislature and adopted, that it was thought would obviate all difficulty. This consisted in the appointment of a committee from each house, which should hear both sides of the case and report a plan of compromise. A careful investigation was conducted by that select body and a report submitted. The ground was taken that, as the courts of highest resort had passed upon the claims of the canal company and affirmed them, that corporation held the commanding position and controlled the progress of the road; was “unassailable by any legal process,” and “not to be affected by the dictation of any of the legislative powers, to whose joint auspices it owed its being.” In that case the committee could see but one course—which was compromise—and proceeded to present an extended and detailed statement of the terms upon which the canal company was willing to treat. In conclusion the committee said: “The undersigned are thus convinced that the arrangement detailed is highly advantageous in itself and for the ulterior objects it will effect. An adjustment has been long and anxiously desired. The parties have been long

\* ‘Rambles in the Path of the Steam Horse,’ p. 65.

and ardently contending for the vantage ground for their great enterprises. They, and the state of Maryland herself, materially concerned in their fortunes, may be congratulated upon the opportunity now proffered of harmonizing the views of these two important and energetic corporations, and of speeding each of them upon a useful and unimpeded course."

The result was the passage, on March 22, 1833, of a law which covered the points of compromise. On May 7 a meeting of the stockholders of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal company was held at Washington, and the matter presented by C. F. Mercer, esq., president of the company. At an adjourned meeting on the ninth, the compromise was accepted by a vote of 6,904 against 1,300. On the eighth of the same month the Baltimore & Ohio directors convened in the city of Baltimore, when a like ratification was recorded—the main vote upon the question standing 25,454 in the affirmative, and 820 in the negative.

The long difficulty was at an end, and the railroad was enabled to proceed, unhampered by legal objections, upon its course toward the west. Extended space has been given to this episode because it was the first collision between the two rival modes of travel in America I have discovered, and illustrates one phase of the obstacles the railroad was compelled to overcome.

#### TRIVIAL ARGUMENTS.

Other objections than those of rivalry were urged, the most of which were

trivial in light of the facts of the case, but not as against the insufficient knowledge of the day. In 1829 we discover an English scientist discussing "The Mechanical Age," which he felt had just dawned, and wondering what poor America would do when she had fed her locomotives with the last pound of her insufficient supply of coal. "In America, it is true," he declares, "steam navigation prevails to a great extent, but it is principally employed upon the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri and other great rivers and lakes of the interior, where whole forests of pine trees are yearly disappearing from the banks to furnish fuel for steamboats. As these supplies, however, become daily more difficult to procure, the Americans must soon resort to coal as fuel, instead of burning wood, as at present, and from the moment that the necessity of this change arises, America will have reached the *ne plus ultra* of steam conveyance. The chief strata of coal yet discovered westward of the Atlantic are situated in Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Canada and some of the provinces of New England, but in all these countries the coal is of a quality much inferior to the British, and entirely unfit to be used in many manufactures, so that they import coal from Britain for various purposes. In short, coals, though not an exclusive, yet may with propriety be styled a peculiar blessing to Britain, from their great plenty, their acknowledged excellence, and, above all, from their being found in such places as are conveniently situated for exportation."

To this the representative American editor responds with such spirit as becomes one who, perhaps, had seen the defeat of England upon the battle-fields of two American wars. "The writer," he declares, "measures our means for the supply of wood by the dimensions of his own little island, the circumference of which is less than the length of some of our navigable rivers! And we have

. . . . 'pools  
In which to souse Great Britain's island whole,'

With millions heaped on millions of acres of land that will long remain in a forest state. And he is ignorant of the rapid growth of the pine, on lands seemingly fitted for no other purpose than to yield fuel. . . . The coal-beds are not confined to 'Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Canada and some of the provinces (John Bull is not yet sensible that these are independent states) of New England.' So far from it, these districts as yet supply very small quantities, and the 'provinces' are furnished from a *terra incognita*, called Pennsylvania or Virginia, the coal beds in which only, probably occupy a greater space than in all England, with her 'inexhaustible stores.' But coal is found abundantly in other states; and without new discoveries, which, however, seem as if happening every day, we seem to have enough, and at convenient locations, for a few thousand years. And what is the progress making for the supply of coal? It is only four or five years since it began to descend the Schuylkill to Philadelphia; but the navigation has been

improved, and 100,000 tons will be received in the present year. The quantity for the next is expected to exceed 200,000 tons, in 1826 only 16,767 tons. The supplies by the Delaware river and the canals from the Lehigh, already large, will soon rival those of the Schuylkill, and from the shores of the Susquehanna, the receptions at Baltimore, etc., will be enormous. Richmond, Virginia, has long been famous for supplies of coal, as conveniently located as at Newcastle, in England, and in incalculable quantities. The shores of the upper Potomac abound with it, and its transportation will soon be easy and rapid, by the railroad or canal, both now making. The Laxawana mines are opened to the city of New York by the Hudson & Delaware canal, etc., and the parts adjacent, say within the small distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, will be thus supplied by river navigation or the canals now in operation; and, if needed, Buffalo and Montreal, Detroit or Quebec, will speedily be reached by an interior navigation from Richmond, the Morris canal, now in much forwardness, only being wanted to complete it."

Next came the cautious philosopher, who was afraid of locomotive power, because of the frightful accidents it would cause. One English writer prefaces his danger signal by the declaration that one hundred miles an hour may in time be possibly accomplished, but pertinently asks: "Reader, how would you like to be put into a box, like a coach or sedan chair, and dropped



from a window in the fifth or sixth flat of a house?" He adds, in explanation, that sixty-six miles an hour is the highest velocity achieved by falling bodies in one hundred feet, and forty-four miles an hour is at the rate of such bodies falling sixty-four feet. He further explains: "We admit that something might be done to lessen the danger attending such accidents, and that in point of fact, so heavy a body could seldom be entirely stopped at once by any obstacle likely to occur; but even supposing that means were found to abate one-half of the violence of the shock, enough remains to terrify considerate men from risking their persons in such a species of conveyance. A speed of twenty-two miles an hour is equal to thirty-two feet per second, or the velocity acquired by a descent of sixteen feet. With proper caution this, or something a little greater, may be attempted, but till we have bones of brass or iron, or better methods of protecting them than we have now, it is preposterous to talk of fifty or sixty miles an hour as a practicable thing. The danger, it is to be observed, rises in a much higher ratio than the velocity, for in rapid movements, besides the increased violence of the concussion, there is less time for adopting precautions to guard against its effects."

A very sensible view was taken by one able writer, James H. Lanman,\* who contrasts the dangers of the improved method of travel with that of the old. "To be driven along," he says, "through plains and valleys,

sometimes within three inches of jaggy points of rock, at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, often verging near the borders of deep rivers or steep ravines, by the power of strong engines which, if they should run off their narrow track, would be as unmanageable as the steed of Mazeppa, and much more terrific in their struggles, is a matter the danger of which is to be well weighed before it is quietly submitted to; and in order to adjudge the risk, we have only to compare it to ordinary roads. The common roads, it is well known, cannot be traveled without the chance of accident, attended with injury. For example, the common road is often rough and filled with obstacles; the carriage to which the horse is attached may break down or be upset; or the buckles and straps which confine him may give way and affright the animal; or the carriage, placed high upon its axle, may be overturned. On the other hand, the railroad cars, which in England ordinarily travel twenty-five miles an hour and in this country sixteen miles, are, in the first place, perhaps more dangerous from this very momentum. The boiler may explode, the car run off its track, or a mischievous boy may place an obstacle which will obstruct the passage of the cars or remove one of the cars; the train may crash against the points of rock that constitute the walls of its tunnels, or rush off one of the steep embankments which border it. Yet the engines, boiling with ambition and seemingly with rage, have no latent passions like those of the frightened or maddened horse; the track is a level

\* Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol. III., p. 285.

track, easily to be coursed by the naked eye for a long distance, and the engines are usually provided with large shovels, which throw off from the track any obstacle which might oppose its progress. Besides, the engine at full speed can be stopped at the distance of two hundred yards, and even were cars demolished by concussion, the train behind would, if it kept upon the track, sustain only a temporary shock or delay. But we have accurate data of the actual amount of the loss of life by railroads in England from well authenticated, official reports, running down to November of 1838, and from these reports, it appears that in that country there have been only ten passengers killed out of forty-four million transported."

#### EARLY ACCIDENTS.

As if to give force to these objections of the timid, the railroad had hardly been commenced before accidents, that would now be called of a minor nature, were recorded here and there. It is somewhat curious to note the interest each excited as it was chronicled in public print. The lamentations in England over the killing of a member of parliament at the triumphal opening of the Liverpool & Manchester line, and the collision with a cow on the Baltimore & Ohio—the upper and lower notes on this gamut of casualty—have been already noted. Between them lay a variety of incident. In September, 1832, an excitable writer in the *Port Carbon Gazette* sets forth to chronicle a "fracas among the coal wagons," and prefaces it with the poetic declaration

that "those who saw the machines in motion must have remembered, if they ever read Milton's account of the *wheels* 'instinct with life.'" "A train of cars," he more soberly continues, "loaded down the lateral road leading from a mine of Colonel Samuel P. Wetherell to the Mill Creek road, without horse or attendant; near the town they encountered a train of ascending wagons with a tremendous concussion. The driver of the latter escaped unhurt, but lost his horse. Most of the wagons were crushed. A spectator says the descending wagons left a streak of fire along the road, and that the shock was like thunder, fragments of the shattered wagons being hurled into the air, and the road strewn with the ruins. This destruction of property proceeded, as we learn, from inattention." A new form of accident was developed on the Mauch-Chunk road, a few days later, when "the iron rails on the road were observed to be sparkling with electric fluid, which conducted along them for the distance of several rods, passing three trains of cars and knocking down four mules attached to them." No injury was done to cars, driver or mules. Even then the drunken man made a bed of the railroad, the *Frederick Times* of November of the year last named, recording the killing of a man on the Baltimore & Ohio who was "lying asleep in the road with his head resting on one of the rails." A wheel passed over him and killed him instantly. The *National Gazette* of January 15, 1833, chronicles a serious accident, from fire, on the Newcastle & Frenchtown road: "In the line pro-

ceeding to Baltimore, a spark from the locomotive fell upon the baggage-car and set fire to a lady's band-box, and in a short time, from the rapidity of the motion and force of the current of wind, the whole car was in combustion. Much baggage was destroyed, some valuable jewelry damaged and injury done to a large amount of bank-notes going to Baltimore from one of our banks. We are sorry to learn, in addition, that Mr. Buiney and Mr. Sergeant, our eminent townsmen, who were among the passengers, suffered the loss of the clothing in their trunks, and have been obliged to return. Their papers were rescued. If coke should be employed in the American locomotives, no danger of accidents of this nature would remain. It is used universally on the British railroads."

A demand for the yet undeveloped cow-catcher was caused by an accident on the same line a few months later. As the locomotive was proceeding at full speed a cow placed herself on the track and was thrown into a gutter with one car for company, while the rest of the train was only saved by a break in the coupling. Whereupon an irate editor declares that "if cows, etc., cannot be kept off the road, we should think that fixtures might easily be made to shove them out of the way, dead or alive"—followed by the after explanation that "such fixtures have been promptly made." Something of the same character was that encountered on the Camden & Amboy road, which the *New York Journal of Commerce* thought worthy of description at full

length. The cars on that line had been started with locomotive power for the first time, and all was proceeding happily, when "an unlucky hog got under the traveler of the locomotive, and in endeavoring to run out between the fore and hind wheels, was instantly decapitated. The locomotive was thrown off and plunged with its head into the gutter, and the baggage-car, which followed immediately after, was also thrown off the track. But the passengers remained undisturbed, except that one gentleman in the fright turned a 'sommerset' out of the window. The most moving part of the scene was the lament of the Irish woman over her poor piggy, whose head could in no way be replaced on the body so as to be of the least account in the world."

Affairs of a far more serious nature were ere long chronicled. In July, 1832, when a car was ascending the inclined plane on the pioneer Quincy line, the chain parted when near the summit. The car descended with lightning-like rapidity, and was dashed over a precipice thirty feet deep. One man was killed instantly, another had three ribs broken, while another received a fractured jaw and broken leg. The fourth passenger escaped with numerous severe bruises. A year later, as a train was running between Phillippeville and Charleroi, on a Belgian railway, another serious accident occurred, in consequence of a train of carriages, containing upwards of fifty passengers, having been imprudently detached from the locomotive employed in towing them up a considerable acclivity. A

stone had been placed behind the wheel of one of the carriages of the train for the purpose of impeding their descent, and this stone having by some accident been removed, the whole train was set suddenly in motion, and by the force of its own gravity was carried over a precipice eight or nine yards in depth. Three of the passengers were killed on the spot, and a great many others were wounded more or less dangerously.

In November of the same year still another serious affair was recorded on the Camden & Amboy road. As a train loaded with passengers was proceeding from Amboy to Bordentown, the axle of one of the foremost cars gave way, "either by the heat or friction or the pressure upon it, and the whole train was immediately arrested." "Among the passengers in this car," the narration continues, "was Mr. Adams, late President of the United States, and no one was hurt; but the next car, with twenty-four passengers, was overturned with great violence, and a majority more or less injured, J. C. Stedman, esq., of Raleigh, North Carolina, so much so that he died in a few minutes. His remains were left at Heights Town, horribly mangled, for the car was dragged a considerable distance before the locomotive could be stopped, then proceeding at the rate of more than twenty miles an hour, and some say at the rate of thirty miles! Dr. Rex of Schæfferstown, Pennsylvania, was so mangled that he died in a few hours. Mrs. Bartlett of Washington city, lady of Lieutenant Bartlett of the navy, with

her sister and two children, were all much injured." Detailed descriptions of the minor injuries follow.

Comment upon this sad event, of course, was heard from all quarters, the general tone of which was voiced by the *Philadelphia Gazette*, which said: "It is probable that an investigation of this sad occurrence will be made and the particulars formally reported. The speed of the train at the time was certainly unwarrantable, as was evinced by the inability of the engineer to stop the locomotive at once. Accidents of this kind are always liable to misrepresentation; but we hope it will be found that this disaster arose from no undue competition." The comment of the *Baltimore Gazette* showed a happy immunity in its section of the railroad world: "It is now about three years and a half since the traveling on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was commenced, and more than three hundred thousand passengers have since traveled on it, without a single instance of serious injury to life or limb having occurred to any one of them. A late important improvement, which we find referred to in the last annual report of the president and directors of that company, by the introduction of two wrought-iron bars into the outer rim of the wheel, by which, in case of fracture, the parts will be held together and the wheel sustained, at least until time will be allowed to replace it, will give still further security to the traveling on this road, which, by the way, is daily increasing, and has already far surpassed any expectation that could have



been formed at the commencement of the work, upon its present limited extent."

An interesting table may be given in this connection. It is from House Document, No. 46, session of 1848, and may be found in the American Almanac for 1849, p. 201. It gives the accidents upon railroads in Massachusetts since the commencement of their operation, up to that date, as follows :

Whole number of passengers killed.....	22
Whole number of passengers injured.....	69
Whole number of employees killed.....	75
Whole number of employees injured.....	72
Whole number of other persons killed.....	58
Whole number of other persons injured.....	54
Whole number of persons killed.....	155
Whole number of persons injured.....	195
Whole number of persons killed or injured at crossings.....	20
Whole number of persons killed or injured by bridges.....	36
Whole number of persons killed or injured while walking on the track.....	28

Added light may also be obtained from the following table, showing the deaths and accidents upon English railroads from the beginning to November 5, 1838. It may be found in the London Quarterly Review for April, 1839 :

## SOME POPULAR IDEAS.

Comment of a character neither encouraging nor discouraging may be found scattered all along the decade from 1830 to 1840—some of which is interesting, but most of which has a value of curiosity only. Certain ideas were advanced by English travelers, to the effect that while the railroads of England were laid on stone blocks to secure permanence, those of the United States were placed upon wooden sleepers and "designed to be merely temporary, in order to be adapted to the changing political and statistical condition of the country." "It is supposed by them," says the able railroad writer from whom this fact has been learned,\* "that from the locomotive propensities of our population being, as it is said, of a mercurial character, and constantly moving in masses from point to point, that permanent investment would be unsafe which was founded on the local importance of particular sections, as population, pro-

\* 'Railroads of the United States.' By James H. Lanman, Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol. III., p. 284.

NAME OF RAILROAD.	DATE.		NO. OF PASSENGERS.	NO. OF ACCIDENTS.
	FROM	TO		
London & Birmingham,...	July 20, 1837,	Nov. 5, 1838,	541,360,	3 contusions, no deaths.
Grand Junction,.....	July 4, 1837,	June 19, 1838,	214,064,	2 contusions and 2 deaths.
Bolton & Leigh & Kenyon & Leigh,.....	June 13, 1831,	Oct. 1, 1838,	508,763,	3 contusions and 2 deaths.
Newcastle & Carlisle,.....	March 9, 1835,	Oct. 1, 1838,	8,540,759,	4 fractures and 5 deaths.
Edinburgh & Dalkeith,....	Summer of 1832,	Sept. 30, 1838,	1,557,642,	Arm broken.
Stockton & Darlington,....	Oct. 10, 1836,	Oct. 10, 1838,	357,205,	None.
Great Western,.....	June 4, 1838,	Nov., 1838,	230,409,	None.
Dublin & Kingston,.....	Nov. 14, 1836,	Sept. 1, 1838,	26,410,152,	3 contusions and 5 deaths.
London & Greenwich,....	Dec. 14, 1836,	Nov. 5, 1838,	2,880,417,	1 slight bruise.
Liverpool & Manchester,...	Sept. 10, 1830,	Sept. 28, 1838,	3,524,820,	8 deaths.

duction and enterprise, in the advancing progress of the country, are constantly shifting into new channels. This allegation, we humbly conceive, has no solid basis. We do not believe that it ever entered the minds of the stockholders in our railroads that it was their policy to construct temporary roads merely because new points would be constantly developed, which would divert the population, and consequent enterprise of the country, from the old to new channels of trade and commerce. We doubt not that new channels of trade and enterprise will be opened in future time, but the old and established places of trade will lose but little of their importance. Nature has established certain points of our territory, which, from their geographical position, in relation to other parts, are destined, so long as the solid land remains around them and the waters wash their shores, to be great depots of trade, and although population may be from time to time diverted to other points, from temporary circumstances, these places will sustain their position. Who believes that such cities as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Cincinnati and New Orleans will, from the locomotive propensities of our population, lose their importance as places of trade, or that those other points which are established in eligible positions near their borders, will not be in the end tributary to these grand marts? The more obvious reason that the railroads established in the country are not constructed on stone blocks like that of the Boston & Lowell railroad,

instead of wooden sleepers, is the fact that the material of wood is so cheap in the country; that the labor required in hewing out these stone blocks would be so expensive; that the climate does not crack the wooden sleepers, moving them out of place; and, moreover, that the wood being yielding in its nature, furnishes a more pleasant track than the rigid surface of the stone."

We find an expression of surprise from one that the locomotive travels safely in the dark. A great deal of land is leased along the Liverpool & Manchester line for gardens at increased rent. The English mails are carried at two-thirds of the old price. A party of members of congress made a pleasure excursion over the Baltimore & Ohio, and a local writer informs us that "the display of this cargo at the viaduct had a fine effect." "In case of threatened invasion," declares the *London Sun*, in 1830, "a country with such roads and such means of conveyance as these becomes an impregnable fortress, for whole armies, with parks of artillery and all necessary stores, might be conveyed from one part of the island to the other in less time than an enemy could disembark their troops."

The railroad also opened a new way to rascally people, who made early use of it to make their way in the world without work. In 1830 a man made his appearance in Boston and advertised for laborers on the Baltimore & Ohio road and the Chesapeake & Ohio canal. Applicants who responded paid the amount of their passage money to the "agent" and received a certificate stat-

ing that they were engaged to work on these improvements, specifying the vessel on which they were to sail, etc. When the day of departure arrived no vessel was provided as expected, nor was the swindler to be found. The year following one of the contractors on the Baltimore & Ohio absconded without paying his workmen, whereupon the latter attempted to redress their wrongs by tearing up the rails and doing such injury to the road as they could. The military was called out and some sixty of the rioters taken to jail.

One enthusiastic editor declares of the Baltimore & Ohio in 1832: "If this road were completed to the Ohio, the business upon it would go beyond the hopes of the most sanguine. Trains of cars would, no doubt, often be more than a mile long, and, after a while, the whole route of the road become a continuous chain of villages."

State pride was aroused in more than one section to aid the progress of desired roads onward. In a communication from the Baltimore & Ohio directors to the governor and council of Maryland, under date of December 20, 1831, we hear them declare that "Maryland has the honor of being the first state in the Union to incorporate a company for the construction of a railroad. She was the first state to embark the public resources in support of this system, and she may now boast of having within her limits the longest continuous railway in the world. It is only necessary that she should continue her patronage to this great enterprise and she will certainly secure to herself the

full development of all the advantages which her geographical position gives her in relation to the vast and rapidly increasing commerce of the west. She is happily so situated as to afford the shortest and by far the most convenient route of communication between the navigable waters of the west and of the ocean, and indeed between the Atlantic and those great inland seas which border upon our northern frontier, and which, at no distant day, are destined to become the theatre of an immense commerce; and although limited in her territory to a much smaller extent than some of her sister states, by securing to herself the channel through which the interchange of commodities between the eastern and western states will mainly pass, and which her position gives her an opportunity of effecting, she will soon find herself in point of commercial activity and capital second to no state in the Union."

Hardly was the railroad under way before a publication was established for the dissemination of railroad news and the development of railroad literature. Early in 1832, or toward the last days of 1831, the first number of *The Railroad Journal* of New York made its appearance. It was published by D. K. Minor, esq., who was then publisher and part proprietor of the *New York American*. It was ornamented with an engraving of a locomotive and passenger car for a heading, and contained a large amount of interesting matter upon railroads and other points of public interest.\*

\* The writer has been permitted, by the courtesy of C. P. Leland, esq., auditor of the Lake Shore &

The *Advertiser* of Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 30, 1830, made the following suggestive prediction: "In twenty years the many hundred miles of canals made, and now making, in the United States, at an expense of about thirty millions of dollars, will be all filled up or drained to make foundations for railroads."

Still another prophecy that has been fulfilled, not by the railroads but the canal, was uttered in March, 1831, in the following words: "Such is the confidence now entertained in England of steam-power used on railroads, that a project is entertained of railwaying the Isthmus of Suez and carrying over it vessels of the heaviest burden from the Mediterranean to the Red sea. The ease with which vessels are now lifted out of the water, or restored again to their own proper element by marine railways, patent slips and screw docks, and the power displayed on the Liverpool & Manchester road, divests the project of that wildness, or rather insanity, that would have been attached to it had it been suggested only five or six years ago. It is said that the difficulties of the enterprise are not greater than those which have been encountered in the construction of the Manchester & Liverpool railroad, and that the pasha of Egypt has actually employed an engineer to inspect Morton's patent slip for the lifting of vessels. Shall heavily

laden ships cross the mountains of America, as well as the deserts of Africa, and pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific over the Isthmus of Panama?"

#### EARLY TRAFFIC AND PASSAGE.

When the Baltimore & Ohio, on May 20, 1830, announced their first formal opening for the transportation of passengers between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, which was to take place four days later, it was specified that the price for the trip of twenty-six miles would be seventy-five cents for each person. The Hagerstown *Torchlight* of March, 1831, touches upon the cost of transportation somewhat, and declares that while farmers were then paying from one dollar to one dollar and a half for carriage to Baltimore, the completion of the railroad or canal would produce a saving of seventy cents per barrel, which would be ninety thousand dollars added to the income of the county.

The fifth annual report of the Liverpool & Manchester company, issued on March 28, 1831, is a valuable document, and sheds no small degree of light upon this branch of early railroad history. The line had then been in practical operation for six months, and the directors emphatically voiced it as their opinion that the results, even in that short space of time, had justified the favorable sentiments they had from the first entertained. The line had been partially opened for the conveyance of passengers on the sixteenth of the September preceding, and in this department of its business had not been re-

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Michigan Southern Railroad company, to examine and make free use of the early numbers of this pioneer railroad publication. It is old and worn by much usage, but full of unique and valuable information upon the early American roads.



quired to wait for "that gradual and tardy transition which usually takes place when long-established modes and customs have to be superseded by the introduction of new schemes and an untried system." Within two weeks from the day of opening, the number of passengers conveyed between the two places was about eight hundred per day, and before the close of October that number had increased to twelve hundred per day; while "the whole existing establishments of stage-coaches and mails on the turnpike-road, prior to the opening of the railway, would not accommodate more than seven hundred persons per day." The directors charged this sudden increase of travel to the "unexampled ease, rapidity and cheapness with which the journey was effected." "Two hours," they add, "was then the usual time allowed, and since the late arrangement by which the first-class trains have been relieved from the frequent stoppages to take up and set down passengers on the road, the journey of thirty miles, by these carriages, is generally performed under an hour and a half. . . . Upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand passengers have been booked at the company's office, besides many thousand persons taken up at intermediate stopping places; and they have reason to believe that the conviction is now general that traveling by the railroad is the safest, as well as cheapest and most expeditious mode of public conveyance ever presented. It is true that since the opening of the railway four fatal accidents have occurred to workmen em-

ployed by the company, owing to neglect or carelessness; but the directors have the satisfaction to state that only two accidents have occurred to travelers, one a trifling contusion, the other attended with loss of limb, resulting from the party having imprudently, and against remonstrance to the contrary, jumped off while the trains were in rapid motion."

Referring to the freight or "merchandise department," as it was then called, they declare that the increase of traffic, though more gradual than that of the passenger, had been very satisfactory. "In December last the weight of goods passed along the line between Liverpool and Manchester was one thousand four hundred and thirty-two tons; in January, three thousand eight hundred and forty-eight tons; in February, four thousand eight hundred and eighteen tons; and in the present month, up to the twenty-sixth, five thousand one hundred and four tons. The directors are preparing a cattle station at Broad Green, and are building carriages calculated for the conveyance of live stock. This branch of their business the directors have always considered would afford a great accommodation to the public, as well as profit to the company; and they hope speedily to bring this department into active operation."

But little coal had as yet been transported, all of the engine power at command having been needed in other directions, but it was expected that a great deal would be done in that way ere long. The claim which had been made by the canal advocates and others,

that the railroad was not adapted for the conveyance of heavy or bulky goods, was fully answered: "In the last three months the capability of the railway for the transit of merchandise on a large scale has been brought to the most effectual of all tests—the test of experience; and the result is complete and satisfactory. On the twenty-fifth of February an experiment was made with a new and powerful locomotive engine, the 'Samson,' constructed by Messrs. Robert Stephenson & Co. Her load was one hundred and seven tons of merchandise in thirty wagons, the gross weight conveyed, besides the engine and tender, being about one hundred and fifty tons. She was assisted up the inclined plane by three other engines, and without further aid proceeded to Manchester, where she arrived with her train in two hours and thirty-five minutes from the time of starting. Indeed, the vast capability of railways for the transit of merchandise appears to be very imperfectly understood. It may be easily demonstrated that the passage along the line of four thousand tons of goods per day, being about three times the quantity that now passes by all the existing conveyances, would not occupy any one portion of the line above fifteen minutes in the day, or a fraction of time amounting to one ninety-sixth part of the twenty-four hours. Nor will this be surprising to those who have observed and considered the quiet and almost deserted appearance of nearly the whole line of railway, even on the busiest days. Hence the capability of the present undertaking to discharge

any imaginable increase of the trade between the two towns, and hence how unnecessary a rival road, founded on the alleged incapability of the present railway. The directors are prepared to carry three thousand passengers per day, being three times the number now passing, and in a short time will be able to convey all the goods which may be offered to them."

A gratifying statement, both to the railway and the public, was made in the declaration that the decrease in the cost of transportation which had been looked for had been achieved: "The cost of conveyance for cotton, the staple commodity of the two towns, has been reduced thirty-three per cent., namely, from fifteen shillings to ten shillings per ton; and the charge for passengers in a still greater ratio, namely, from ten shillings to five shillings each." Another point upon which the directors thought the public might need enlightenment was as to the amount of interruption caused by bad winter weather; and the pleasing announcement made that on no one day were the "trains of goods" prevented from passing between the two towns; on no one day was the number of trips performed by the coach trains diminished. There had been delay, of course, as the winter had been unusually severe, but it had amounted to little.

While the expenditures of various kinds had been larger than was expected, a gratifying financial showing was made, and the directors had "the great satisfaction" of "recommending to the proprietors (stockholders) a div-





Eng<sup>d</sup> by A. H. Fischer.

C. Van der Lijdt



idend of two pounds per share, chargeable on the net profits of the concern, to the end of last year." It was "gratifying to the directors to be able to announce so prompt a return on the capital subscribed," and they expressed a "full confidence in regarding this first dividend as an earnest of that permanent and substantial prosperity which it will be the duty and pleasure of successive directors at future annual meetings to record."

I have given extended space to this report, because it is the first formal one presented by the first great railroad to introduce steam-power as a permanent thing, after the results of that introduction had been made apparent.

The transportation of stock, referred to in the above, was ere long successfully accomplished. In June of the same year it was gravely announced by the Liverpool papers that on a certain day "forty-nine Irish pigs quitted Liverpool in one carriage, and arrived safely at Manchester, after a most noisy journey."

An American editor finds occasion for comment in this event, declaring that the "respectable quadrupeds evidently did not like the new mode of traveling, and in passing through the tunnel made an outcry which 'echoed through the hollow, dark abyss' and startled all within hearing."

J. H. KENNEDY.

[To be continued.]

## THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

### CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

WHILE Cornelius Vanderbilt was not numbered among those who first turned their attention to railroad construction or management in America, he was one of the foremost in understanding the possibilities involved in this new and rapidly developing system of transportation, and in foreseeing the results that must follow consolidation of diverse lines and the harmonizing of rival interests—in short, in the creation of the great railroad systems of to-day. In the possession even then of immense wealth, of a third of a century's experience in carrying passengers and freight from

point to point that embraced both sides of this continent, and backed by an energy and financial genius that ensured success to everything to which his hand was turned, he entered the field of railroad ownership and control at a time when there was a golden opportunity for one who had the power to discover it and make it his own. How well he succeeded in the centering of vast wealth and power in his own hands the wonderful history of his life will show.

Of an ancestry that combined a willingness for hard work with sturdy honesty and natural mercantile skill,

Cornelius Vanderbilt was never an idler nor quiet spectator of other men's deeds; nor, in the outlook from the practical environment of his boyhood, could he see the need of months or years given to school. Born on Staten Island, New York, on May 27, 1794, he was surrounded by ships and men who went down in them to trade with the whole world, and it is no wonder that his vision was turned in that direction, and his determination early formed to follow the life of those about him. Yet it is something of wonder that we find him, when but sixteen years of age, the owner of a small vessel, in which he plied between his home island and New York. The whole story of this commencement of a great career is altogether significant of the after life of the man. It has been well told,\* and as an illustrative feature, a brief portion may be taken therefrom: "Thus far he had acted for others, but now he wished to strike out for himself, and determined, therefore, to have a sail-boat of his own. He went to his father and made known his plan and desire. Little encouragement did he receive, his father deeming it rather a dangerous and uncertain business for so young a boy. Not discouraged, he continued to plead his cause with the greatest earnestness, and finally received the qualified promise that if he could accomplish a certain amount of work on the farm, the money should be furnished. The task set was no slight affair. To do it would require time—more time than he could

consent to give, with his enterprise delayed. In the absence of his father, therefore, he determined to make the job a short one. Being popular with his companions in the neighborhood, young Vanderbilt imparted to them his secret and summoned them to his aid. Meeting with a hearty response, they all went to work with a will, and soon completed the allotted task. At once he reported to his mother the successful achievement, and claimed the boat. Her aversion to his proposed business was as great as his father's, and she also tried to dissuade him. But it was of no use. His purpose was fixed, and fearing that if this cherished project fell through he might carry out his oft-expressed intention of running away to sea, she gave him the hundred dollars as being the lesser evil. With the money in hand, he was soon at Port Richmond shore, where the selected boat was snugly moored to the dock. The purchase was made at once, and with a proud heart he took possession of his long-coveted prize. One can easily imagine the sensations of this boy of sixteen, as he first walked the deck of his little craft, and set sail for home. He was now a full-fledged captain—a man of business dependent upon his own exertions.

"He at once made the necessary effort to obtain business, and succeeded wonderfully. At that time the fortifications of Staten and Long Islands were being built by government, and the carrying of laborers to and from New York furnished work for him and his periauger, which was quite remuner-

\* Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol. LII., 1865, p. 10.

ative. Amid, however, these first successes one fact troubled him. The money that bought his boat came from his mother, and this being so, he could not feel that perfect independence his spirit craved. Day by day, therefore, from his first earnings, he scrupulously laid by every cent that could be saved, for the purpose of returning this sum, and but little time elapsed before he quietly placed in his mother's lap the hundred dollars. Probably a happier, prouder child never lived than Cornelius Vanderbilt at that moment, and he certainly had won the right to be so.

"His life was regulated by self-imposed rules, and with a fixedness of purpose as invariable as the sun in its circuit. Among other things, he determined to spend less every week than he earned. We have already seen the first fruit of this careful management; but it speedily produced other results, for very soon he was able to extend his business by purchasing with his savings a vessel of larger dimensions than his first little craft. Thus, for three or four years, he went on daily adding to his worldly means, until on his eighteenth birthday he found himself part owner and captain of one of the largest periaugers in the harbor of New York, and shortly after became also interested in one or two other smaller boats engaged in the same business. In the meantime he almost lived on the water, carrying freight and passengers, boarding ships and doing everything else coming within his life. Not satisfied with working all day, he undertook, and continued through the whole War of 1812, to furnish supplies

by night to one of the forts up the Hudson, and another at the Narrows. In fact, his energy, skill and daring became so well known, and his word, when he gave it, could be relied upon so implicitly, that 'Corneile, the boatman,' as he was familiarly called, was sought after far and near, when any expedition particularly hazardous or important was to be undertaken. Neither wind, rain, ice nor snow ever prevented his fulfilling one of his promises. At one time during the war (some time in September, 1813,) the British fleet had endeavored to penetrate the port during a severe southeasterly storm just before, but were repulsed from Sandy Hook. After the cannonading was over, and the garrison at Fort Richmond had returned to quarters, it was highly important that some of the officers should proceed to headquarters to report the occurrence and obtain the necessary reinforcements against another attack. The storm was a fearful one—still the work must be done, and all felt that there was but one person capable of undertaking it. Accordingly, Vanderbilt was sought out, and upon being asked if he could take the party up, he replied promptly, 'Yes, but I shall have to carry them under water part of the way!' They went with him, and when they landed at Coffee-House slip there was not a dry thread in the party. The next day the garrison was reinforced."

This was the commencement of his many labors. Once set upon a given course and there was nothing for him but a sure advance therein, and so well were his ventures carried to success

that when but eighteen years of age we find him the owner of two vessels and captain of a third. A year later he married and removed to New York, where he entered upon his remarkable career. Additions were made to his little fleet as his means offered; a sloop now and a schooner then, and when but twenty-three years of age he was free from debt and the owner of over nine thousand dollars—a fortune almost for that day—and every dollar made by his own energy and brains.

His advance along this road of maritime investment was continued and steady. He saw the advantages to be secured from steam at an early day, and in 1817, in conjunction with a partner, he built the first steamboat run between New York and New Brunswick, New Jersey, and became her captain at a salary of one thousand dollars a year. The next year he took command of a larger and better boat on the same line; and by 1824 he had full control of the Gibbons line, so called from Thomas Gibbons, one of the owners, and brought it up to a point where it paid forty thousand dollars a year. In 1827 he made a fourteen year lease of the ferry between New York and Elizabethport, New Jersey, placed new boats upon it and made it pay a good profit. He had now gained a point in experience and the control of capital which made him desire to act for himself, and in 1829, leaving Gibbons, he went into business altogether for himself. The next twenty years were filled with active labor and development, the full details of which cannot be related here. He

built and operated steamboats on the Hudson, on Long Island sound, on the route to Boston, and on the Delaware from Bordentown to Philadelphia. It was a period of active travel and commercial development, and the railroad, during the greater portion of it, had not yet reached that point where it could offer serious opposition to the steamboat. All the resources of his superior energy and comprehensive mind were brought into play to make his ventures a success and to compel a golden return. By superior boats and the application of all that appliances for speed and comfort that could be commanded, he broke down rivalry and secured a practical monopoly of trade between desired points, or at least made such formidable opposition that those in control of such advantages were compelled to buy him off. In these labors he was busily occupied until 1848-49, when he began to broaden his field of operations, and apply to the whole continent, in one sense, the practical principles of success he had so ably used in the waters in and about New York. Building the steamship *Prometheus*, he sailed in her, in 1850, for the Isthmus of Darien, where he desired to make a personal investigation of a measure in which he had already purchased a controlling interest—the American Atlantic & Pacific Ship Canal company, which had projected a canal across the isthmus. The practical mind of Mr. Vanderbilt, or the “Commodore,” as he was called, for reason of his power in maritime matters, led him to substitute, for this proposed method of crossing from ocean



to ocean, a transit route from Greytown, at the mouth of the San Juan, to San Juan del Sur, on the Pacific, which had the advantage over the old transit from Charges to Panama, of saving seven hundred miles between New York and San Francisco. From his investigations in that portion of the world, the commodore was led, in 1851, to place three steamers on the Atlantic side and four on the Pacific side, to accommodate a portion of the vast travel that had set in for the gold regions of California. This placed him in direct competition with the United States and the Pacific Mail companies, in which it is hardly necessary to say that he held his own. In 1852 he added three more vessels to his fleet, and established a branch line from New Orleans to Greytown. While he was absent in Europe in 1853, Charles Morgan and C. K. Garrison, who also held a large amount of transit stock, formed a combination against him, and ousted him from the management. Upon coming home he made immediate arrangements to show them that he was still in the field, and organized an opposition line between New Orleans and Galveston, and in 1854 established an independent line between New York and Aspinwall, with steamers on the Pacific side to compete with the Pacific Mail line. This vigorous course, backed by his energy and the resources of his capital, had its expected effect—a compromise was proposed and accepted, and Vanderbilt was once more in control of the transit stock. An episode characteristic of the day and the man occurred

at about this time. In 1856, when William Walker, the American filibuster, held rule in Nicaragua, he seized the property of the transit company, whereupon Vanderbilt, with the readily lent aid of Costa Rica, stirred up an insurrection, by which the adventurer was expelled. The remainder of Mr. Vanderbilt's steamship career may be briefly narrated. The bar at the mouth of the San Juan rendered the approach to Greytown difficult and dangerous, whereupon the transit business was abandoned. In 1856 Mr. Vanderbilt received a large subsidy for withdrawing his California line, as the field was not of sufficient profit to support the two companies. The independent transatlantic line that he had started in 1855 was abandoned in 1861, when the commodore withdrew from it the magnificent steamer *Vanderbilt*, that cost eight hundred thousand dollars, and presented it to the government for war uses in the defence of the Union—a deed that was as timely as it was magnificent.\* His enterprises upon

\*The following resolutions in recognition of this generous gift were passed by congress and approved by the President on January 28, 1864:

WHEREAS, Cornelius Vanderbilt of New York did, during the spring of 1862, make a free gift to his imperiled country of his new and staunch steamship *Vanderbilt*, of five thousand tons burthen, built by him, with the greatest care, of the best material, at a cost of eight hundred thousand dollars, which steamship has ever since been actively employed in the service of the Republic against the rebel devastations of her commerce; and whereas the said Cornelius Vanderbilt has in no manner sought any requital of this magnificent gift, nor any official recognition thereof; Therefore,

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress

the water were finally all disposed of by 1864, at which time he was correctly estimated as worth at least forty million dollars.

Mr. Vanderbilt's railroad connection commenced in or near 1844, at which time he had become interested to some extent in the New York & New Haven road. Seeing clearly the certain growth of New York to far greater proportions than it had yet assumed, and understanding somewhat the future value of a road connected north and west leading directly into the heart thereof, he purchased heavily of stock in the Harlem road, from time to time, and became president thereof in 1857. The investment was very profitable, and he next turned his attention to the Hudson River road, the stock of which was down to thirty-three—a figure explained by the fact that the line had as yet never paid a dividend. In 1864 Vanderbilt secured control of that also, and working it in connection with the Harlem, soon brought it to a point where it paid him a handsome profit. In the year last named he also became a shareholder in the New York Central, the outlet of his lines to the west, by an investment of five hundred thousand dollars. The parties then in control of that company were pleased at so

assembled, That the thanks of congress be presented to Cornelius Vanderbilt for his unique manifestation of a fervid and large-souled patriotism.

Sec. 2. And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause a gold medal to be struck, which shall fitly embody an attestation of the Nation's gratitude for this gift; which medal shall be forwarded to Cornelius Vanderbilt, a copy of it being made and deposited for preservation in the library of congress.

powerful an ally, but hardly looked for the course of absorption he steadily pursued toward them as he had in the case of the Harlem and Hudson. The manner in which he finally secured control is characteristic of his quiet but effective methods of railroad conquest, and has been graphically described as follows: When the then president and directors made their annual excursion over the road for the purpose of examination, they invited him to join the party, little dreaming of the way he would improve the opportunity of inspection. When, however, the commodore was thus taken "inside," he immediately saw room for reform, and on his return to the city devoted all his resources to the purchase of Central stock. Other capitalists followed his example, and this demand led to advanced quotations. Those in possession were, in many instances, led to sell, hoping that prices would decline so that they could buy again. In this, however, they were disappointed. The stock had passed into strong hands and prices were fully maintained, and at last it was found that the Vanderbilt party had obtained control.

The capital of the New York Central was then \$24,000,000, and the then president held proxies for \$13,000,000, thus making him master. These proxies became void as the stock changed, and, to his great dismay, he found himself gradually stripped of power. At last he saw that to seek reelection would only invite defeat and he withdrew, on condition that he should be

retained as a director. Vanderbilt was still operating secretly, and did not wish to show his full mastery. He granted the request, and made Dean Richmond president. The public, thus far, had no idea of Vanderbilt's power over the Central, but it was soon made manifest in a startling manner.

In 1867, when the annual election of directors approached, whispers were uttered of a radical change, and they were soon fully realized. The election was held in Albany, and the commodore went up from New York to attend. There was great excitement in the Central office, where the treasurer (Mr. Worcester) and the inspectors of election were all day in attendance waiting for votes. No voters, however, appeared, for the opposition had too much sense to display its weakness. It was a long, dull and wearisome day, and the inspectors were chatting or yawning or reading the papers, doing their best to escape the inevitable *ennui*. When the time came for closing the poll, the commodore, who had been looking at railroad matters, entered the room and dropped a ballot into the box. It was the only vote cast that day, and when the result was examined it was found that he had voted on eighteen millions of stock. His board of directors (all previously notified) then stepped in and made him president and Daniel Torrence (his son-in-law) vice-president. It was the most quiet and effectual *coup d'état* in the entire railroad record, and the power thus displayed was maintained

to the end of his life, and by his sons and grandsons after him.

After the New York Central was well in hand, Mr. Vanderbilt turned his attention to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, and finally became the controller and chief owner of that road as well—giving him a direct and magnificent connection between New York and Chicago, the gateway of the great west. He gave a personal attention to these properties that made them among the most profitable in the railway world; and in adding to their value, he added also to the material value of the country. The organization of such a magnificent business machine as the New York Central & Hudson River railway; the four track scheme that secured to New York the supremacy of traffic that she was losing; the great depot; the elevator improvements on the North river; the system that has been reduced to perfection in the management of his roads—these are some of the great achievements of Vanderbilt which benefit, directly or indirectly, many millions of people, in fact, the country and the world.

Because the veteran commodore gained an immense fortune in the railroad world, it must not be understood that it was by the accumulations of the railroad wrecker or, in the main, by speculation. He had the eye to see where grand, beneficial and profitable changes could be made in railway management, the skill to make them and the money by which it must be done. From thirty to forty million

dollars were at his command when he ceased operations upon the water, and with such a capital what could not a man of his knowledge and force perform? He saw lines a few miles in length struggling along under discouraging circumstances and diverse managements, each working for itself and none to a common end. He simply consolidated them, and made one grand whole of parts that could do little alone. When he speculated it was largely incidental, and always with the solid cash. No margins, no risks, no mere gambling in securities for which he could not pay. Said a friend to him once: "You buy and sell stocks on the street, do you not, Mr. Vanderbilt?"

"Yes," was the reply, "*but I pay for what I buy, and only sell what I have got*, and these fellows, the speculators, don't."

His controlling maxim was, "Do your business well, and don't tell anybody what you are going to do, until you have done it."

The greatness of his financial transactions was shown in his Harlem corner at the close of the war. The stock was selling at 40 in the market, par at 50. If there were 70,000 shares it required only \$2,800,000 to buy the whole stock. At par, Vanderbilt and company bought up the whole stock, while the "shorts" offered 60. Having got the stock, it went up gradually to 180, at or about which figure the brokers and their principals had to settle or break, making a profit to the Vanderbilt pool of say nine millions,

or nearly three times the whole amount of the investment. One of his greatest days was late in December, 1868. He had purchased or controlled about one hundred and thirty thousand shares of New York Central stock. Getting together a quorum of directors in night session, they declared a dividend of eighty per cent. and announced it next morning. The stock almost immediately jumped from 120 to 165, and the short interest had to pay over five millions of dollars to the commodore's coterie. The story of these operations, upon lesser scale, might be duplicated many times over, but they will stand in fair illustration of the greatness of his power in the railroad world.

A writer who made a study of the old commodore in his later days furnishes us with this graphic touch of portraiture:

"He took to the water in childhood; arose in the infancy of steam navigation, and lived the whole period actively between the eras of Robert Fulton and George M. Pullman, between the stage-coach and the palace-car. The extent of railroad in America, in the commodore's eighty-second year of age, is seventy-five thousand miles; a train has passed in eighty hours from New York to San Francisco, or less time than was commonly required to go from New York to Washington when Vanderbilt began steamboating. There are, in 1877, when the old man is dead, eighty thousand miles of railroad in North America, and one hundred and eighty-four thousand in the world. The steamboat was invented in the





Eng<sup>d</sup> by A.H. Ritchie

Wm A Van derbilt



sight of Vanderbilt's birthplace, on Staten Island, and he saw and probably knew Robert Fulton, as he certainly knew and opposed Chancellor Livingston, Stevens, Aaron Ogden and others. Up to that time he had been a mere waterman and sloop captain, sailing no farther than New Brunswick on the Raritan, or Shrewsbury, or Kingston. His knowledge of the waters led him to be employed by the steamboat rivals of Livingston and Stevens as early as 1816. Within his limits, the young Vanderbilt knew every shoal, current and sounding. He was, besides, intelligent, bold and athletic; so he was immediately needed when capital and invention were prepared with the steamboat."

A monument to the memory of Cornelius Vanderbilt is to be found in his magnificent gift of three-quarters of a million dollars for the founding of Vanderbilt university, in Nashville, Tennessee. He lived his full three-score and ten, and passed it, keeping up his strength and wonderful energy, and all the exercise of his financial power, to the end. He died in New York city on January 4, 1877. So firm and secure were his great investments that there was no injury to them because of his death; and, in fact, his place had for some time been ably filled by the son to whom the bulk of his immense fortune of from sixty to one hundred million dollars was left.

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WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT.\*

Commodore Vanderbilt, unlike too many rich men, was not only blessed with great success in life, but also had the fortune to possess a son eminently fitted to take up his great work he had been compelled by old age to lay down, and carry it onward to still more abundant results. How great were those results, the life of William H. Vanderbilt can best show. Perhaps the possession of such a son was due largely to the fact that—also unlike many rich men—he taught that son self-reliance, labor, self-help and the habits of industry. Anyone who knows anything of the character of the elder Van-

derbilt has no need of being told that had not William H. been a man of great qualities, and sure to make a success of whatever he undertook, independent of all help, the main portion of the father's estate would not have been made his. The father recognized the true qualities of that son only after the latter, by his own force of character and ability, compelled that recognition.

William H. Vanderbilt was the eldest son of the commodore, and was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey, on May 8, 1821. An ordinary education in the Columbia College Grammar school was the only special equipment given him for life's labors; and at the age of eighteen he commenced the active duties thereof, by becoming a clerk in the office of Dean,

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\* For a large share of the information in this sketch, and occasionally for the language, the writer is under obligations to the *New York Times*, December 9, 1885.

Robinson & Co., then one of the largest banking houses in Wall street. He had always been looked upon by his father as a boy of no especial promise, and because he knew that his father so regarded him and expected meagre results from any endeavor of his, the grit and determination, that were marked features of his character, were aroused, and he determined to show his father what he could do. It was in this spirit that he took his place at his desk in the bank. He worked hard from morning until night, mastering the details of the business with wonderful rapidity. He was soon recognized by his employers as a young man of more than ordinary promise, and his energy and attention were rewarded by early promotion. Meanwhile he was compelled to maintain himself upon his salary of sixteen dollars a week. After two years of hard labor he married; and at a time when the firm was seriously discussing the advisability of taking him into partnership, he was compelled to give up indoor work, because of ill-health. He was delicate naturally, and the hard work he had done proved too much for his constitution. He had a natural taste for a farmer's life, and the commodore, realizing that unless something was done for him he would sink into an early grave, purchased for him a small farm at New Dorp, Staten Island, and told him to make the best of it. This was in 1842, and the young man had just attained his majority. Aided by his helpful wife, he set himself to the cultivation of the seventy acres of unimproved land. "Few men of his age would have had the courage to leave a banker's desk to grapple seriously with the

responsibilities and difficulties of such an undertaking, and still fewer would have overcome the obstacles and succeeded; but his motto was always, never to attempt what he could not do, and never to fail when work would win. The morning sun greeted him in the fields, and the setting sun left him there. He was among the first to begin work and the last to leave it; he directed the whole, but permitted nobody to do more labor than himself. The result was that the wastes and barrens of the little farm were soon transformed into a blooming garden, and Mr. Vanderbilt's seventy acres began to return him a good income."

But capital as well as work was needed to fully develop the resources of his place, and of this he had none. His father already had his millions, and he determined to try in that direction for a five thousand dollar loan, hoping that the solid improvements he had already made would be an earnest of what he had already done and a guarantee of a certain repayment in the future. A friend was asked to proffer the request that he did not feel the courage to make himself. A refusal, direct and point-blank, was the result. Determined not to lose the chance of profit that the application of that amount of capital would secure, he borrowed six thousand dollars, and secured it by a mortgage on the farm. With this money he went forward with his improvements and largely increased his acreage under cultivation. Six months went by and no word from his father. But finally, when the son called upon him one day, the father took him out for a drive; and after a time gave him a warm lecture



upon his inefficiency, and ended it with the question, "Did you not mortgage your farm for six thousand dollars?"

The son quietly answered that he had, and that he was compelled to do it, as the proper conduct of the farm required an outlay that was beyond his command. And then he added in a dutiful vein: "My object in life has always been to please you, and I am grieved to see that I am unable to do it. I can assure you only of one thing, and that is that not a cent of this money has been diverted for my personal comfort. The transaction is perfectly business like. I undertook to pay the mortgage off at a certain date, and I know I shall be able to do so. I cannot see that I have done anything to be ashamed of."

The commodore made no reply, but passed the rest of the drive in silence. But he had gained a new idea concerning the capacity and self-reliant qualities of the young man of whom he had thought so little. The ride bore fruit. The next day William H. received a check for six thousand dollars, with orders to pay off the mortgage immediately. The son always declared that his father's change of attitude toward him dated from that episode, and believed that his action in relation to the mortgage had largely caused it. Meanwhile William H. went forward and made a good property out of the farm, and also won the confidence of those about him, and in more ways than one showed the old commodore that he was worthy of the confidence and intimacy that he began gradually to extend toward him. His first railroad operation, although small when compared with those of later

days, is significant because of two things, the fact that his venture therein was made independent of his father's aid, and that by sheer energy and brain he made a good railroad property out of a bad one. The Staten Island railroad, the existence and prosperity of which was of the greatest importance to the material interests of the island, had been nearly wrecked by the recklessness of those having it in charge. It was loaded down with debt and embarrassments of various character, and its creditors decided that the only course left for it was to place it in the hands of a receiver. Mr. Vanderbilt up to this time had had no experience in railroad management, but as the confidence in his good judgment and business management was unlimited, it was decided to ask him to take control. He accepted and was appointed receiver, and "this was the beginning of his career as railroad manager, which culminated in making his name familiar in every part of the world where a track is laid or a locomotive puffs. The little Staten Island road, minus both money and credit, and without materials or organization, was the school from which the greatest of railroad kings of the century was graduated." In two years he had paid off all the claims against the company, connected the road with New York by an independent line of ferry-boats, and placed it upon a secure and permanent financial basis. At this point the stockholders determined to retain Mr. Vanderbilt as president of the company, and he was accordingly elected to that position. He there remained, managing the affairs of the road with success, until called to a post of fraternal

duty. His brother George was then in poor health, and had been ordered to Europe. The commodore, who "by this time had learned how sadly he had misjudged his eldest son, and had gone to the opposite extreme of thinking that there was nobody like him in the wide world," desired William to accompany the invalid. He accepted the trust, and traveled with the invalid for nearly two years. But skill and love were of no avail, and when George died, William returned to New York to become the mainstay and prop of his father in his old age. A strong mark of his confidence in his eldest son was shown upon his return, in 1864, by having him elected vice-president of the New York & Harlem Railroad company. From this time onward, William H. Vanderbilt was a railroad manager in the largest sense of the word. His career had opened before him, and he showed himself a worthy master of the great opportunity placed within his grasp.

In 1865 his father secured his election as vice-president of the New York & Hudson River Railroad company. In this position he was the executive officer and confidant of the commodore, and he proved an able and efficient assistant through whom the comprehensive and far-reaching plans of the father's master mind were carried into quick and successful execution. He rapidly familiarized himself with every detail of the business, devoted his personal supervision to every department, reduced the expenditures, stopped the leaks, and increased the business of the Harlem and Hudson River roads, until they were enjoying a season

of prosperity such as had never before been experienced in their history. The commodore was delighted with the new-found treasure which he discovered in the son whom he had once despised. Very quickly, from serving as a mere agent to execute orders, William H. Vanderbilt became the confidential adviser of his father, and he had been acting as vice-president of the two roads for but a few months when his counsel was sought, instead of having to be proffered, and no important move was made without his approval. When the commodore had secured a controlling interest in the New York Central railroad, William suggested to him that for convenience in the transaction of business and facility in meeting competition, the line from New York to Buffalo should be continuous and under one management. This idea met with the commodore's approval, and in 1869 he consolidated the Central with the Hudson River company, creating a corporation of unrivaled wealth and power, with seven hundred miles of double track in its main lines and branches. Such a road, running through the heart of the first state in the Union and affecting every interest and enterprise throughout the United States, requires for its management faculties of the highest order, and in full appreciation of, and confidence in, his abilities, Mr. Vanderbilt was named in its articles of incorporation first vice-president and executive officer. Under his father's nominal direction and supervision, but largely through his own inspirations and ideas, he managed this great property so that its value was nearly trebled, and it became one of the greatest

and most prosperous railroads in the world. In the meantime the Harlem road, which was practically bankrupt when the Vanderbilts became its owners, was raised to the position of one of the best equipped and best paying roads in the state.

In light of all this, it was no surprise to the public to learn, on the commodore's death, that, with the exception of a few legacies of one million dollars apiece or so to his other children and widow, he had left his entire estate to William H. Vanderbilt. The inevitable contest of the will followed on the part of disappointed heirs, but after the trial had proceeded for some time in the surrogate's court, Mr. Vanderbilt compromised the suit by the payment of a round sum. He then set to work to secure and increase the millions which the commodore had left him. Elected president of the New York Central & Hudson River railroad in June, 1877, he assumed the duties of that position with but little trepidation, having been for some years his father's chosen colleague in the management of the road, and being thoroughly familiar with its minutest workings. An idea of the magnitude of the work of management can be gained by the fact that to carry on the enormous business of the road in 1881, 15,000 men were constantly employed, and 23,000 freight cars, 600 passenger cars and 638 engines were in constant requisition, and on some parts of the road as many as sixty trains passed each other daily. Mr. Vanderbilt's was the organizing mind which manipulated this business, and everything was done under his personal supervision. In addition to this he was prominently

identified with other railroads, notably the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern and the Michigan Central, of both of which he was the president, and also in many other enterprises, including telegraph and telephone lines and electric light companies. Industry, hard work and untiring perseverance were as characteristic of him as of his indefatigable father, and the magnitude of his responsibilities was such that he could command only the briefest periods for recreation. Of late he made a trip to Europe every year, but only for the benefit of the voyage. He had no time at his command for holiday making, and he generally returned in the same steamer on which he sailed.

In May, 1883, Mr. Vanderbilt came to the conclusion that it was time for him to do a little less work and a little more play, and he suddenly astonished Wall street and the railroad world by resigning his position as president of the New York Central & Hudson River, Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, and Michigan Central railroads. The resignations were formally tendered and accepted by the directors of the three roads on the fourth of that month, and Mr. Vanderbilt retired from active work in connection with the Vanderbilt system. His two sons, Cornelius and William K. Vanderbilt, were at once elected to fill the positions he held, and thenceforward Mr. Vanderbilt enjoyed a brief season of comparative rest. He, however, remained a director and a member of the executive and finance committees of all three roads, and he was always consulted before any important step was taken. Practically he was at the head of the Vanderbilt system

until his death, although relieved of the detail work of management, to which he had devoted so many years of his life.

In this connection it may be of interest to glance at the vast railroad properties he owned or held in control at the time of his death. These lines at the time of W. H. Vanderbilt's death stretched from New York to Buffalo, from Buffalo southwest to St. Louis, and west to Chicago; from Chicago northwest and west into the newest settled portions of the country. The extension of the Vanderbilt interests west of Chicago dates from the death of Commodore Vanderbilt. The commodore first showed to the American investing public the possibilities of railroads; he took the fragments of lines which made up the road from New York to Buffalo and consolidated them into one compact whole. The extension of the system west to Chicago followed as a natural growth from the impetus given to travel by the improvements in the facilities for going over half the distance. By the same process of natural growth, the son of the commodore extended the Vanderbilt system west and northwest from Chicago by acquiring a controlling interest in the Chicago & Northwestern company.

In New York state the Vanderbilt lines now ran north on the east and west banks of the Hudson from New York to Albany, the line on the west bank, the West Shore, having been formally transferred only a few days before Mr. Vanderbilt's death. The Harlem road, under lease to the New York Central & Hudson River company, ran from New York north to an Albany connection, and was the first railroad purchased by Commodore Vanderbilt. From

Albany west through the Mohawk valley (the lowest pass through the Alleghany range of mountains) the New York Central (originally eight separate roads) carries the system to Buffalo, and the West Shore road runs side by side with the older line nearly the whole distance to the same place.

From Buffalo the Vanderbilt system continued to Chicago, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern line running south of Lake Erie, and the Michigan Central & Canada Southern running north of that lake. The Nickel Plate road was built parallel to the Lake Shore and close beside it from Buffalo to Chicago. This was purchased by Mr. Vanderbilt in 1883, and a controlling interest in the stock turned over to the Lake Shore company, which now owns it.

It was the fate of the son of Commodore Vanderbilt to see the system of roads his father had welded together paralleled the whole thousand miles from New York to Chicago by new roads built to compel a division of the rich traffic the old roads were getting. The policy adopted by Mr. Vanderbilt in respect to these two new competitors was radically different, but the same result came in both cases. The Nickel Plate road was purchased almost as soon as it got into running order, and turned over to the Lake Shore; but the burden of it, together with the general depression of business, forced the Lake Shore out of the list of dividend payers. With the West Shore Mr. Vanderbilt entered on a policy of extermination, and forced the company into hopeless bankruptcy; but the New York Central was also brought down to dividends at the



rate of two per cent. per annum ; and purchase of the competing road finally wound up the destructive conflict.

The Vanderbilt lines to St. Louis cut a less prominent figure in the system than the others, mainly because they had no feeders west of that city ; while the lines to Chicago were fed by the vast ramification of the Chicago and Northwestern system extending into the richest agricultural regions of the northwest. The main line to St. Louis, usually known as the C., C., C. and I., being the initials of the full title, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis railway. It joins the Lake Shore at Cleveland. The line is carried into St. Louis by the St. Louis, Alton & Terra Haute road, which the C., C., C. & I. controls by lease. The C., C., C. & I. is also known as the "Bee Line." Another of these southwestern lines in which the Vanderbilts had an interest is a road running from Sandusky, Ohio, to Bloomington, Illinois, a distance of three hundred and seventy-six miles, and known as the Lake Erie & Western.

The Chicago & Northwestern road was acquired by Mr. Vanderbilt between 1877 and 1880, and one of the interesting facts about the purchase of the stock by him was that Mr. Gould was caught short of it, and had to pay heavily to cover his contracts. The Northwestern system took in about four thousand miles of road. Its lines ramified through Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa, and stretched up into Dakota and off into Nebraska. It connected at Council Bluffs with the Union Pacific ; it drew an immense traffic from St. Paul and Minneapolis, and tapped all

the best wheat, corn and cattle sections of that rich country.

Of course, some modification of the above will be required to bring the history of the Vanderbilt lines up to the present date—an addition which will be made in its proper place hereafter.

Mr. Vanderbilt was at one time the controlling power in the Western Union company ; but in the fall of 1880, when the consolidation and increase of stock to eighty million dollars was made, he sold out his stock, resigned from the directory, as did his friends, and the corporation passed into the control of Jay Gould.

Some of the leading events in Mr. Vanderbilt's career as a railroad king may be cited as illustrating his methods of dealing with men, and in managing the immense concerns under his control. They were placed upon record\* at the time of his death, in the following brief compass : From the beginning of 1877 till the fall of 1881 the business history of Mr. Vanderbilt was the history of the system of railways that bears his name. He entered into possession of the great properties at a time of unusual activity in railway matters. Contrary to his policy, the commodore had been forced into extending his lines outside the state of New York, and plans which he left uncompleted had to be carried out by his successor. Before 1873 the commodore was strongly averse to an extension of his system beyond Buffalo. "If you begin to go west," he would say, "you'll have to go to San Francisco, and then to China." Lake Shore was forced upon

\*New York Tribune of December 9, 1885.

him by the operations of his son-in-law, Horace F. Clark, who had bolstered the stock in the market on his reputation as a son-in-law of the railway king. He died suddenly in 1873, and the commodore found himself obliged to sustain the property, and he concluded that the safest way in which to do this was to buy it. This in a few years made necessary the acquisition of the Canada Southern and Michigan Central roads, which was accomplished under the administration of William H. Negotiations for the control of the Canada Southern had begun before the commodore died. He was himself reported to be a large holder of its bonds, which, however, had no voting power. The road was completed in November, 1873, and soon after defaulted on bond interest. Several years later overtures were made to the New York Central, and to Mr. Vanderbilt, in consideration of paying the debt of the Canada Southern, was given a majority of the stock. In September, 1877, a joint committee representing the two companies, agreed upon a basis of reorganization, the old bonds being exchanged for new, bearing three per cent. interest for five years, and five per cent. thereafter, the interest on the new issue being guaranteed for twenty years by the New York Central road. The Michigan Central was purchased in open market. The operations of the Canada Southern are included in those of the Michigan Central, though in order to conform to Canadian law a separate organization is maintained. These auxiliaries of the Vanderbilt system became necessary, because of the acquisition of the Great Western by the Grand Trunk. The year

1877 was further signalized by the vigorous warfare in west-bound freight rates between the trunk lines, which had the excellent result of bringing to New York, as commissioner of the Trunk Line pool, Albert Fink, who has since, after great labor, succeeded in bringing order out of the tariff chaos which had reigned for years, and perfecting an organization which, while it may have cost shippers heavily by discouraging railroad wars, has saved millions of dollars to the trunk line companies.

This war was hardly over before the railway strikes and riots began. One of the results of the disastrous cutting rates had been that the companies were unable to maintain their scale of wages, and the New York Central had, in July, made a reduction in wages of ten per cent. There were twelve thousand men in the employ of the New York Central & Hudson River railway, and a natural apprehension was felt in view of the general condition of the working classes that trouble might result from the reduction. Mr. Vanderbilt was at the time in Saratoga. One day in August, just before a threatened attack on the Grand Central depot, he summoned some directors and officers to him and conferred with them over a plan that was at once put into execution. He sent out by telegraph a proclamation that the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad company would give to its employes one hundred thousand dollars ratably, except to the executive, departmental and clerical forces. At the same time he promised a restoration of the ten per cent. as soon as the business of the road justified the action. Out of

the twelve thousand men less than five hundred gave trouble, and the old wages were eventually restored.

In November, 1879, Mr. Vanderbilt, in pursuance of his policy of protecting his system from the assaults of its great rivals and also for the purpose of changing the character of a large fraction of his investments, made the largest sale of railway stock ever made by a single owner. To a syndicate representing chiefly the Wabash system, but also a number of foreign capitalists, he sold 250,000 shares of Central stock. He was known to hold at the time at least 400,000 shares, which, as the market then stood, represented a wealth of \$52,000,000. The stock had not been seen on the London board for nearly fifteen years, and it was felt that it was desirable that it should be there; besides, there was danger of a rupture in the traffic agreement between the Central and Wabash systems, the latter system having been extended a short time before, and its through freight being a prize for which an active competition among the trunk lines was to be expected. The purchasing syndicate was composed of J. S. Morgan & Company of London; Drexel, Morgan & Company; August Belmont & Company; L. Van Hoffman & Company; Morton, Bliss & Company; Winslow, Lanier & Company; Edwin D. Morgan, Cyrus W. Field, Jay Gould, Russell Sage and others. This syndicate took 250,000 shares at 120, which was ten below the ruling price in the market. The negotiations were carried on for several weeks with great secrecy. There was a disagreement about the extent of the syndicate's representation in the directory of

the Central, and a demand that Mr. Vanderbilt should not place any stock on the market for a year. The *Tribune* announced the pendency of the negotiations on November 21, and the intelligence caused a great sensation in Wall street. The truth of the report was repeatedly and vehemently denied, but five days later Mr. Vanderbilt yielded both of the contested points and the agreement was closed.

The official announcement of the great sale was not made until the afternoon of November 26, but the news that it had been consummated reached Wall street early in the day, and the effect was promptly visible in the advance of the Vanderbilt and Wabash stocks. New York Central & Hudson River rose from 129¾ to 134¾ and Wabash common from 39 to 43½, preferred from 63 to 68, the rest of the list being affected by sympathy. Erie closed at 38¾, that being the highest price of the day. The advance was due to a general conviction that the arrangement was one of the highest value to the two systems, inasmuch as it was a guarantee of harmony in traffic relations between them, at least for a time. Mr. Vanderbilt admitted that one of the considerations that entered into the sale was that it would relieve him and his road of the embarrassment growing out of the public distrust of great power in a single man.

There was still another consideration which Mr. Vanderbilt never alluded to in public, but which some of his intimate friends knew to have great weight with him. This was the necessity he had begun to feel of getting his wealth into a

shape that would simplify its even distribution in case of his death. The \$30,000,000 received for the stock Mr. Vanderbilt invested in government bonds. In conversation with a friend who had advised him in the matter, he said that a great change had taken place in the railway world since the death of his father, and that it would be much more difficult for one of his sons to successfully maintain a great railway system than it was for him. A combination of the brothers against the favored one would be fatal, and besides there was not one of the boys whom he could say that he preferred over the others. The stocks were parted with and the bonds bought, and within a year or so it was reported from Washington that Mr. Vanderbilt was receiving the interest on \$53,000,000 of registered bonds.

In the midst of the next great railroad war Mr. Vanderbilt withdrew from the practical labors of railroading, and turned his duties over to his sons—to Cornelius being assigned specially the financial administration of affairs, and to William K. the practical operations. The circumstances attending this war, which was that of 1881, were the subject of a great deal of discussion among persons interested in all the phases of railroad enterprise. The disappointments caused by the outcome to speculators and investors led to two kinds of motives being attributed to Mr. Vanderbilt. The phenomenal year of 1880, when a succession of good crops in America and bad crops in Europe had expanded the railway business to colossal proportions, saw the spirit of speculation run mad. Mr. Vanderbilt

had followed his father in the policy of always giving it out that he never sold his stocks, and was always ready to sustain his properties in the stock market. There was among investors a strong faith in these protestations, which was somewhat rudely shocked when in 1881 he led in a ruinous war of east-bound freight rates that depressed terribly the value of all railway securities. The story then got out that he had not only sold out his holdings during the continuance of the excited period of the previous year, but had actually gone "short" on the market. This was one explanation of the war in rates which finally was not confined to freight but also extended to passenger traffic. Another, and in all probability the true explanation, was this: The war in rates was begun against the Erie, which had secured a much larger proportion than usual of the grain traffic from the west, and was carried on recklessly, not so much to punish the Erie as to depress securities and compel the cessation of the work of construction going on on the line of the so-called "Nickel-Plate" road. The contest was carried on with great energy and even acrimony, and a culminating point was reached when in June, 1881, Mr. Vanderbilt left the meeting of the trunk line presidents after rejecting every proposition of settlement advanced. For a while, in the subsequent meetings in the pool commissioner's office, the only representative present from the Vanderbilt roads was a subordinate officer of the Michigan Central.

Mr. Vanderbilt's position was an untenable one, but he discovered before long a method for yielding it without him-



self assuming the responsibility. He turned the issue onto the question of differential rates from the west to the seaboard. This, perforce, made an ally in the fight of the Erie, since the claim now became one of the preservation of the supposed rights of New York city. The question was not at all new. There had been for a long time an agreed difference in favor of Baltimore and Philadelphia in the rates of freight from Chicago. From 1869 to March, 1876, the difference varied from three to ten cents per one hundred pounds. In March, 1876, the system of making fixed differences in rates, based upon New York rates, was abandoned, and a tariff substituted for it which was based upon the relative distance of the cities named, from western common points. This tariff was maintained only a month and a half, when the Central and Erie withdrew from the agreement, as it gave a too great advantage to Philadelphia and Baltimore. Another war of rates began and continued until July, 1877, when, under a new agreement, fixed differences in rates were re-established, with a view of equalizing the aggregate cost of rail and ocean transportation between competing points in the west and all domestic and foreign ports reached through Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. Three months' notice was required to withdraw from the agreement, and the notice was given June 3, 1880, by the Central. After the freight war of 1881 had reached the stage indicated, the question of differentials was precipitated again. The Central and Erie attempted to abolish differentials, the Pennsylvania and Baltimore & Ohio insisted on their

maintenance. Defeat for the first parties was obvious, and to let them down without rudeness, the advisory commission, consisting of Allen G. Thurman, E. B. Washburne and Thomas M. Cooley, was appointed. They investigated the subject, and in July, 1882, reported in favor of maintaining the differentials. Their decision was not binding, but Mr. Vanderbilt raised no protest against it. He had, in fact, withdrawn from the administration of railroad affairs, and was chiefly engaged in seeking a restoration of his health.

On May 4, 1883, as has been said, Mr. Vanderbilt finally surrendered the presidencies of the various roads with which he had been identified for many years. The retirement had been anticipated for some time, but the fact that his sons did not succeed him in these presidencies caused considerable surprise. In surrendering his position, Mr. Vanderbilt said: "In my judgment the time has arrived when I owe it as a duty to myself, to the corporations and to those around me upon whom the chief management will devolve, to retire from the presidency. In declining the honor of a reelection from you, I do not mean to sever my relations or abate the interest I have heretofore taken in these corporations. It is my purpose and aim that these several corporations shall remain upon such a basis for their harmonious working with each other and for the efficient management of each as will secure for the system both permanency and prosperity. Under the reorganization each of them will elect a chairman of the board, who, in connection with the executive and finance committees,

will have immediate and constant supervision of all the affairs of the companies and bring to the support of the officers the active assistance of the directors. The plan of organization now adopted and inaugurated will remove the business of the companies from the contingencies of accident to any individual, and insure a continuance of the policy which has heretofore met the approval of the stockholders."

On the day after, Mr. Vanderbilt, with his son George W. and his uncle, Jacob H. Vanderbilt, sailed for Europe. James H. Rutter was elected president of the Central, and retained the position until his death, his successor being Chauncey M. Depew. The system laid out by Mr. Vanderbilt, which is based on the English system of railway management, has been since maintained.

The end of Mr. Vanderbilt's life came suddenly, in the midst of his great activities, and without a word of forewarning. On the afternoon of December 8, 1885, he sat in his elegant home on Fifth avenue, New York, chatting pleasantly with Robert Garrett, president of the Baltimore & Ohio, when suddenly, in the midst of his conversation, he bent forward, and fell upon his face on the floor. He was unconscious when reached, and in five minutes thereafter was dead. A stroke of apoplexy had done its lightning work. For two years he had not been in good health, and had been under the care of his physician. He had no definite conception of his trouble, but his physician felt certain he would die suddenly at last, but expected that the final event would be postponed yet for years. The

news of his death was a shock to the whole country; but, as in the case of his father, his investments were so well made that there was little disturbance thereof because of his sudden call. The body was laid away to the final rest, in a massive mausoleum, at New Dorp, on Staten Island.

Of course no man, even yet, can tell the amount of money Mr. Vanderbilt added to the princely sum left him by his father, but the sum must have been enormous, even when made upon the lowest calculation. The following estimates, made at the time of his death, are interesting, and will probably approximate the truth: "His fortune was at one time placed as high as \$200,000,000, and it is believed that he was the richest man in the world. In January, 1883, he told a friend that he was worth \$194,000,000, and added: 'I am the richest man in the world. In England the Duke of Westminster is said to be worth \$200,000,000, but it is mostly in land and houses. It does not pay him 2 per cent.' This was an unusual instance of boastfulness on Mr. Vanderbilt's part, and he was generally very non-communicative in regard to his financial condition. A year ago it was known that he had \$54,000,000 in government 4 per cent. bonds, but this was afterward reduced to \$35,000,000, partly to aid his sons, who had lost \$10,000,000 in Wall street. He afterward purchased \$10,000,000 more of the 4 per cents., and he had besides \$4,000,000 in government 3½ per cents. It is said that his government bonds are worth \$70,000,000. He owned in addition \$22,000,000 worth of railroad bonds, \$3,200,000 of state and city bonds, and

had \$2,000,000 in manufacturing stocks and mortgages. He stated to a friend that his ordinary expenses in a year were \$200,000. A Wall street man, referring to his wealth, said: 'From his government bonds he draws \$2,372,000 a year; from railroad stocks and bonds, \$7,394,000; from miscellaneous securities, \$576,695; total, in round numbers, \$10,350,000 a year. His earnings are thus over \$28,000 a day, \$1,200 an hour, and \$19.75 a minute.' This was a year ago, when his wealth was estimated at \$200,000,000. Some of his securities have decreased in value since then, but at the time of his death his fortune was enormous."

In the use of that great wealth, Mr. Vanderbilt was generous where he found worthy objects, and probably the great bulk of his charitable gifts will never be known except to the recipients. Such acts of munificence as have been made public were of a princely character. In 1880 he furnished the entire sum required to remove the obelisk from Egypt and place it in Central Park, New York city, an undertaking which cost about \$100,000. In the same year he gave \$100,000 for the founding of the Theological School of Vanderbilt university, an institution at Nashville, Tennessee, endowed by the commodore. Theological hall, the result of this gift, was formally dedicated on May 8, 1881, the birthday of its patron. In 1884 Mr. Vanderbilt presented to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York city \$500,000 for the founding of a school of medicine. He expended \$200,000 in the purchase of a site for the proposed school at Tenth avenue, Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth streets,

and forwarded his check for the remaining \$300,000. His generosity to the family of General Grant in offering to cancel the mortgage securing the loan of \$150,000, which Ferdinand Ward induced the general to make of him in the spring of 1884, is too well remembered to require any detailed notice. Mrs. Grant declined the gift, which was twice offered, and when she and her illustrious husband insisted upon his receiving in payment the trophies gathered by Grant in his tour around the world and at home, he accepted them only to present them to the Nation—a deed as broad-minded and patriotic as it was generous. By will, he left two hundred thousand dollars to the Vanderbilt university; one hundred thousand to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Primitive Episcopal Church of the United States; the same to St. Luke's hospital; the same to the New York Young Men's Christian association; fifty thousand to the General Theological Seminary of the Primitive Episcopal church; the same to the New York Bible society; the same to the Home for Incurables; the same to a Seamen's society; the same to the New York Home for Intemperate Men; one hundred thousand to New York Episcopal missions; one hundred thousand to the Metropolitan Museum of Art; fifty thousand to the American Museum of Natural History; and one hundred thousand to the United Brethren Church of New Dorp, Staten Island. After most generous gifts to his family and others, the bulk of his fortune was left to his sons Cornelius and William K., both active railroad men, and then in the harness of regular and successful railway work.

Hard work and the stern actualities of a life of daily toil were the experiences of William H. Vanderbilt at a time when most young men are in college, and if the practical side of his nature was more fully developed thereby than any other, it is by no means a matter of wonder. Yet in the early years of travel with his invalid brother, and in such spare hours as were given him in the pressing cares of later years, he cultivated tastes of which many had no idea he was possessed. The elegant palace he reared for his own occupation on the corner of Fifth avenue and Fifty-first street was one of the finest buildings ever erected in America. Its cost was between two and three million dollars. The double bronze doors which give entrance to the palace alone cost \$25,000, and the bronze railing and other bronze work around the house were furnished at an expense of \$50,000. No two rooms in the great architectural pile are alike, and the furnishings are princely in their magnificence. The picture gallery is the largest apartment in the house. It is thirty-two by forty-eight feet, the height of two stories, and lighted from above by a curiously constructed combination of roof and skylight, affording on every foot of its extensive walls perfect light for the display of paintings. Mr. Vanderbilt had been in the habit of giving art receptions, and tickets for these were eagerly sought by connoisseurs and society people. Some time before his death, however, he announced that he would give no more public views of his art works, and the treasures which he had collected from two continents were visible only to intimate friends and visitors of the

family. His collection of contemporary and other French art he valued at over \$1,000,000.

Mr. Vanderbilt was a vestryman of St. Bartholomew's church, and had been such for twenty years preceding his death. In his home life he set an example worthy of the emulation of many men of lesser affairs. He was very domestic in his tastes and habits. He loved his home and family, spent much of his time in the one, and devoted much of his attention to the other. "Amicable, kindly and indulgent in his relations with his children, he ever found time in the midst of his great affairs to look carefully after their welfare and enjoyment. He was not a club man. As a host he was always cordial to friends and acquaintances, easily approachable and affable to children. As a rule, he put business matters away after business hours, and would not refer to them unless they were brought up by others. When interested in a subject he talked fluently, and on such occasions was what the world calls a good talker, having a graphic and vigorous way of expressing himself. "Many of his friends remember with pleasure his descriptions of his travels. He was a charitable man in an unostentatious way. He gave freely for the relief of necessitous cases that were brought to his attention, and it is said of him, by those who knew him most intimately, that he never turned anyone away unaided whom he was satisfied was worthy of assistance. As the manager of large interests he naturally became a target for unfavorable comment at times, but the best side of his character is not known to the public. A thread of wonderful common sense seemed to run



through all that he did or attempted, whether in business or other affairs. One of his most intimate friends aptly illustrates that point by the relation of a number of points of special interest that threw light upon his life. "He did not," was said, in relation to his purchase of works of art for his gallery, "buy pictures from selfish motives. He was quite fond of going to the old studio building in Tenth street, and bought many pictures by American artists, such as Tait, Hart, Brown, Beard, Hall and Guy, many of which he retained. He had a very nice taste in regard to subjects. He had no pictures of an indelicate or questionable character. I happened to be abroad with him, and we often went together to see artists and collections. Once, in Paris, a French nobleman of the Bonaparte family had written Mr. Vanderbilt that he wished to sell his houseful of Sèvres china, Louis XVI. furniture, a Marie Antoinette table, and numberless articles of *virtu*, and he had brought considerable pressure to bear upon him. Mr. Vanderbilt and I went to this nobleman's house and he saw all these fine things. When we got outside he said: 'You are supposed to know all about these things and their intrinsic value, and you know of the associations connected with them. Well, I do not know all that, and I am too old to learn. If I should buy these things and take them to New York and tell my friends this belonged to Louis XVI. or to Marie Antoinette or to Mme. Pompadour and should relate all the other things which make them valuable, I should be taking them from a field where they are appreciated to a place

where they would not be. Perhaps I myself should know less about them than anyone else. It would be mere affectation for me to buy such things and to show them to people to whom I should have to confess my ignorance of the qualities which make them valuable.'

"He never was ashamed to acknowledge, with the utmost frankness and simplicity, his former straitened circumstances in life. I remember one incident illustrating that. I went with him to Boucheron, the famous dealer of the Palais Royal, Paris, to see a picture by Troyon, which Boucheron had to sell. The picture represented a yoke of oxen turning to leave the field after leaving the plow. Connoisseurs spoke very highly of it, but took exception to the action of the cattle, said it was forced and unnatural. Mr. Vanderbilt said: 'Well, I don't know as much about the quality of the picture as I do about the truth of the action of those cattle. I have seen them act like that thousands of times.' It was the same when he bought Millet's 'Sower.' The thing that struck him most forcibly in that picture was the fidelity to nature of the action of the man in the field sowing the seed.

"I have known a great many picture buyers in my time, but I have never known one more modest in this particular than Mr. Vanderbilt. I think his ambition was to use his love of pictures for the public good. He certainly made the collection with the intention that it should never be separated and that it should be for the public use. He was most liberal in opening his house to the public, and some days as many as 3,000 visitors were

admitted. He continued this until his privacy was endangered and it became a nuisance to his family."

Mr. Vanderbilt was a lover of fine and fast horses, and was the owner of some of the most valuable animals ever bred in America; but no horse of his ever went upon the turf, and he never allowed them to be raced for the sake of money.

Concerning the great railway property left, to become a blessing or a curse, as it might be, to those into whose hands it fell, and as defining its relation to the public in some important respects, the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew made some pertinent observations to a reporter at the time the will was made public, and Wall street and the country were wondering what effect Mr. Vanderbilt's death would have upon railroad values. "The will of Mr. Vanderbilt," said he, "is, in my judgment, a very wise and very just distribution of his estate. The fact that with his traditions and education in certain directions he left such large fortunes to his daughters shows the strength and equity of his family affection. The fact that all the family are satisfied and grateful demonstrates his knowledge of his children and the wisdom of his munificent disposition and division of his estate, to accomplish the one purpose that was always overmastering with him—to have the family harmonious and bound together by the strongest ties. He took great pride in the successful management and administration and extension and enlargement of the business which his father created, and was anxious, as his father was, that his sons should continue and demonstrate a succession in the third generation of

ability to deal with and handle successfully great enterprises. As he was a much richer man than his father, he could generously endow all his children and still leave his sons better equipped than he was to perpetuate, develop and improve what had come to be known as the Vanderbilt system of railways. The old commodore had but one son capable of managing a large business, while William H. leaves four sons, all men of intelligence, of good habits, of industry, and two of them with ten years of training and experience in the management of the companies, their father for the last three years having devolved on them all of his active duties. You will see upon analyzing the will, that after disposing of the one million dollars about requisite to provide for the various trusts, annuities and charities, the four boys receive \$40,000,000 and the four girls \$40,000,000, and in addition Cornelius receives \$2,000,000 himself and \$1,000,000 for his eldest son, and then the whole of the residue is divided between Cornelius and W. K. in absolute ownership. They are, therefore, so far as mere property is concerned, probably better equipped than their father was at the death of the commodore to continue the successful administration of the great system and hold its control. They are both conservative, experienced and able. I don't know of any two men better calculated to work together, as their characteristics and habits of thought and action are sufficiently diverse to make each supplement the other, and together form a strong combination.

"The children are not only satisfied," Mr. Depew continued, "but they have a

mutual understanding that none of the stocks of the companies in the system shall be sold without a general conference and consent. There seems to be a disposition in Wall street and in London to express surprise and disappointment that the stock of the roads in the Vanderbilt system were not tied up in trusts, so that they could not be disposed of by any of the family. Precisely the same surprise was expressed at the time of the commodore's death, and much more serious prophecies of disaster were indulged in because he had not tied up his stocks. The result demonstrated the old gentleman's wisdom and sagacity. His son disposed of many of the stocks at a time and in a manner which received the approval of the best financiers of the country, and the wisdom of which time amply proved. But he not only continued the management of the system, but in the extension west of Chicago doubled it. And William H. has in turn now pursued the same policy in regard to his sons. There is no question that their pride, as well as their interests, is enlisted to continue, at whatever cost of time and care and labor, a worthy succession in the administration through the third generation of the great business for which they are trustees. William H. discovered, after a thorough trial, that to manage successfully great railroad properties which are so intimately connected with the public and are semi-public in their character, it was much wiser not to own them. When he had discovered this, he sold the great bulk of his Central stock, but it became one of the most widely distributed of our American securities. In that way, with-

out the holding of such large blocks of any one property as to arouse hostility in legislation, in courts, and to raise the cry of monopoly, a system could be devised so elastic as to embrace connecting and affiliating lines from the seaboard to the Rocky mountains, in which the management might be, it is true, the largest holder and owner, but still the outside ownership so enormously preponderate that the management at each election submits itself to the general suffrage for approval and continuance, or dismissal. Notwithstanding this, there has not been at any of the elections of any of the lines for many years, even a fractional vote hostile to the Vanderbilt direction. The reason is that it is well known that there are no inside corporations, private or personal leeches in any department, but that the most careful supervision and the most rigid economy are exercised, and all that there is or is possible of profit or dividend in the operation of the road goes equally and without favoritism or deduction to the stockholders. The advantages of such a large system to the public are, that it furnishes, in continuity of shipment and travel between distant points, accuracy, speed and safety, and by diminishing intermediaries of all kinds, it cheapens the cost of carriage and handling, and results in a general reduction upon all systems of rates and fares."

"Mr. Vanderbilt was not what might be called an anecdotal man," said one of his most intimate friends a few days following his death, "and comparatively little in the way of that kind of incident can be told about him. He was fond of jokes and full of humor, but he seldom

told a story himself. But he always saw through a man who was trying to impose on him, as quick as a flash, and he took great enjoyment in leading such a man on without letting him know that his game was understood. He was the most difficult man in the world to deceive by either a plausible misstatement or a false statement. Every man in his position is constantly being made the victim of confidence games that are played by most respectable and reputable people, but he seemed to have an instinctive understanding of such things at once. With him, as with others in like position, two men of the same mind, with a purpose to accomplish, where they expected him either to advance them money or pay them largely for abandoning a professed scheme, would often talk up the merits or dangers of the project in his presence. He comprehended like a flash what such people were up to, and sometimes turned the tables on them so as to make them ridiculous, and at other times let them go on without a suspicion that they had not hoodwinked him, and then with his friends would enjoy himself at their expense. In some of the great suits with which he was connected, some of the lawyers would often discuss as between themselves, but in his presence, as a matter of curious history, the large fees that had been paid in other similar cases to the counsel. Mr. Vanderbilt, while being instructed by this valuable information, would indicate to some friend sitting near how keenly he appreciated the situation.

"Mr. Vanderbilt took the deepest interest in politics, but belonged to no party. Having selected the candidate of either

party whom he thought the best man, few men did more than he did in his way to promote their success. In such cases he was extremely liberal in his gifts to the campaign funds. He never cared much what a man's views were on public questions or those in which he was pecuniarily interested. He tried more to find out if the candidate was what he called a square man. He had a theory, that he lived up to, that if a man was unreliable or corrupt, no matter how favorable he might be to his interests, he, Mr. Vanderbilt, would be one of his first victims, and that a man who was honest and had courage, when he felt the responsibilities of an official position, would study the merits affecting his, Mr. Vanderbilt's, interests, and would come out substantially on his side. The result was that he frequently astonished his friends by supporting men they believed to be hostile; but in almost every instance the result showed his judgment to be correct.

"Mr. Vanderbilt hated above all things in the world a lawsuit, and he frequently said that he would pay any claim that was presented if the fellow was going to sue for it; but then he never did pay unless he thought he really owed it. He intensely enjoyed a good story, and while he rarely told one himself, he saw the point of one so quickly that it was a pleasure to tell a story to him. He had a way, however, of stating in a sharp, incisive way, a ludicrous situation, good-naturedly against some friend, or otherwise on his enemies, which was full of rollicking fun. He could give away money without thinking of it, apparently, in a charity of some public matter, or a



cause in which he was interested, or to a friend, but he would fight over the smallest matter to the end, where he thought that he was being cheated."

In the summer of 1883 Mr. Vanderbilt spent two weeks at the Glen house, at the foot of Mount Washington. He was accompanied by several members of his family, and devoted the greater part of the long summer days to driving around among the hills with them. It had been the custom of the proprietor of the Glen house for some years to employ students from Bates and Bowdoin colleges as waiters during the summer season. Mr. Vanderbilt had been at the Glen house only a few days, when he began to make inquiries of the young men concerning their college life and experiences. He ascertained that the students were, in most instances,

the sons of parents who were not burdened with an abundance of wealth, and were therefore depending in a large measure upon their own efforts in securing money with which to meet the expense of their college course: The information which he gained from the student waiters seemed to please him greatly. When the two weeks' stay among the mountains came to an end, Mr. Vanderbilt, before leaving the hotel, placed in the hands of the proprietor of the hotel three thousand dollars to be distributed by him among the students at the hotel, as a testimonial of his appreciation of their efforts to secure an education. As there were thirty students in the hotel at that time, each one returned to his college in the fall one hundred dollars richer through Mr. Vanderbilt's generosity.

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## THE LOG BOOK.

### IV.

#### GAME AND GAME FISH.

WHEN the bold and enterprising pioneer loaded up his ox team in his pleasant eastern home and started for the wild west, he did not forget to carefully store away his trusty rifle, powder-horn and bullet-pouch, conspicuously among his most precious necessities. Next to his wife and children—if he had any—his watchful care fell upon his axe, harrow, hoe and rifle.

He had learned their value through reports from returning adventurers who had

gone west to spy out the wonders of the new Connecticut, known as the Western Reserve, as far, at least, as the Indian title had been extinguished, in 1796. These "reports," which lost nothing by age and rehearsal, abounded in thrilling accounts of the richness of the soil, the growth and value of the unbroken timber line, teeming with bear, deer, wolves, numerous fur-bearing animals, wild turkeys, geese, ducks, ruffed grouse, quail, etc., while the lakes and streams were

alive with the choicest of food-fish. Then there were "untutored Indians" west of the Cuyahoga, whose title to their lands was an undisputed ancestral inheritance from time immemorial, who might need "tutoring" in case of dispute or too much whiskey inside and paint outside, when the rifle might be handy to help do it.

No doubt exists but that there was plenty of game and fish in Ohio and the west at that early day. Where you find Indians you will find game. They may be improvident, ignorant savages, but they were wise and provident enough to preserve their food and fur-game and food-fish. They killed for food only. The doe and her suckling fawns were spared.

It may be true that with their rude implements the salmon, trout, muskallonge, white fish, pickerel, pike, bass and others were killed on their spawning grounds, or regardless of season. It was easier. But, to their praise be it said, they killed only what was necessary to satisfy hunger and to lay in a supply of smoked and dried food-fish and game for winter use. The savage Indian was not a "fish hog," nor was he a "game hog." Those gentle and descriptive titles have been fairly earned by the modern and civilized white man!

The "civilized" white man and his imitator, the "colored brother," have, in season and out, regardless of laws or future wants, killed, slaughtered and destroyed wantonly, shamefully, nearly all the food-fish and valuable game in Ohio and the inhabited west. No one will deny that the settlement and clearing up of the country have much to do with game and fish depletion, but the lawless

"game and fish hog" has more. No conscience, no law stops him; he "goes for" the last fish and the last quail.

Is it necessary and inevitable that game and fish must disappear as civilization and improvement advance? The game and fish statistics of England, France, Germany and Italy disprove this. Effective game and fish laws, and strict obedience to and enforcement of them by the people and the authorities, have demonstrated that in those ancient countries game and food-fish are fairly abundant, and likely to remain so for ages to come, as they have been in the ages that are past.

How is it in Ohio and the settled states in the west? Buffalo, deer, elk and smaller game nearly all gone! Slaughtered by the "game hog," without regard to the coming generations who are to inherit the land.

By reason of the wonderful discovery of artificial propagation of food-fish by Messrs. Remy & Gehin of France, in 1842, successfully hatching over one and one-half million in 1852, and its practical introduction in Ohio and the United States by Theodatus Garlick, M. D., of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1853, followed up by Spencer F. Baird, United States commissioner of fish, of Washington, D. C., Seth Green, Frederick Mather of New York state, and other distinguished naturalists, the lakes, rivers and streams of the United States, once so "fished to death" and wantonly depleted, are being thoroughly and effectually replenished. Large annual appropriations are made by the United States and nearly all the older states of the Union for the establishment of artificial hatcheries, resulting in hatching

and depositing, free of charge, millions on millions of the most valuable of food-fishes known to commerce. In the depleted streams, lakes, rivers, estuaries and sounds of the sea in the United States the good result is seen.

Most of the states have wisely followed up this great work by just and reasonable fish laws for their preservation and protection during their spawning season and young growth. This may result in so effectually replenishing our eligible waters as to defeat the "fish hog"\* in a measure, and leave a few fish for our posterity.

There seems to be just enough uneliminated savage in us all to delight in recitals, around the ample fireside of the old pioneer, of "bear stories," the predatory attack and howlings of wolves and the chase of the antlered deer.

What boy will not lose his supper to listen, with open mouth and ears, to such recitals, or run away and hazard a "licking" to "go a fishing" in the rain? Possibly good, old "Father" Doane† may be counted as an exception, for in his narrative of pioneer life, published in the 'Annals of the Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga County,' he says: "I have no hunting stories to tell, as I never did a day's hunting in my life." But to weaken his claims to the above "exception," he continued as follows: "Bears

were plenty and made sad havoc among the hogs that were allowed to run in the woods; wolves attacked a flock of twenty-four sheep left out of their pen by accidental omission,‡ and killed twelve of them in one night."

Captain Lewis Dibble, in his very interesting narrative in the "Annals," says: "In 1816 deer were plenty and wolves came howling about at night. My brother was a good hunter and shot a great many deer."

Dr. John Reeve of Dayton, in his address before the "Old Settlers" at Cleveland, remarked: "I came to Cleveland in 1832; heard wild beasts howl in many places now thickly settled, especially in the ravine back of Sawtell avenue."

Samuel Bissel, speaking before the "Association," says: "The Rev. Joseph Badger, who preached the first sermon in what is now the city of Cleveland, and who was a stalwart man, bold and fearless, much amused children with a story how he once climbed a tree to escape from a bear."

Melinda Russell of the Shakers' union, Warrensville, Ohio, says: "Wild meat could be had in abundance in 1814. I remember the bears killed a nice shoat in harvest time; the wolves came around, but the sheep-fold was built so high they could not get over it—they only annoyed us with their hideous howls."

At a family reunion of the McIlraths at Coit's grove, September 12, 1883, one hundred and fifty were present. Alec McIlrath, one of the old pioneers, told how they could catch bushels of fish in

\* This descriptive name was applied by an eminent writer in the American Angler to that class of "fishermen" who gloried in "fishing for count," killing the last fish, without heeding Seth Green's injunction to throw the little ones back.

† John Doane, now over eighty-eight years old, is one of the earliest settlers of Cleveland. He came to Cleveland in 1801, then about three years old; went to his first school in Newburgh in 1805.

‡ He owns up, subsequently, that he forgot to pen them as usual.

the lake ; that he had shot deer upon the very ground upon which they were gathered ! "Uncle Ab." had gone to the "happy hunting-ground," or we should have learned more of the game and fish in pioneer times.

J. H. Sargent, who came to Cleveland in 1818, tells us that "Lorenzo Carter was a great hunter ; with his hounds he would drive deer onto the sand-spit between the lake and the old river bed, where they would take to the water, when Carter's unerring aim would convert them into venison. I well remember my father's killing a bear near the site of the present water-works.

'Fourscore (twice forty) years ago,  
The bounding buck and timid doe  
Roamed undisturbed by civil man.'"

George Watkins came to Cleveland in 1818. In giving his very interesting narrative of pioneer life, published in the 'Early Settlers' Annals' of 1885, among other memorable things, he says :

My father each year killed a bear. The skins were yearly tanned and made into shoes. . . . Nathan Truscott was once attending a coal-pit for his father near Garden street, at night. Thinking everything was safe, he started for home across the swamp about ten o'clock at night. On his way a pack of wolves attacked him. His dog showed fight and the wolves killed and ate him up ! This delay gave Truscott the start, but the wolves were soon on his scent again. He remembered an old log house which was empty at the time, and made for it. The wolves were just behind him. An old ladder happened to be left in the house ; with this he was soon out of their reach on the beams. They were inside, and he reached down and closed the door. When the morning dawned he tore some of the split shingles off the roof and escaped. He got some of the neighbors to help him, and they soon killed the wolves.

J. H. Rhodes, esq., in his valuable history of the "Settlement of the Western

Reserve," published in the "Annals" of 1881, and delivered before the "Association," closes his address, replete with profound historical research, with these remarks, referring to the early settlers :

They knew that by the solemn compact of 1787 that spread its protecting ægis over 400,000 square miles of untrodden wilderness, the fair heritage of the Reserve and the entire country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi would forever be dedicated to free schools and freedom ; that no slave should breathe its air ; that religious liberty was forever guaranteed. They had and needed no stock in trade but the rifle and the axe, and to many an old revolutionary veteran that had slept in camps, his log-cabin was a palace.

Ara Sprague came to Cleveland in 1818. His address was published in the "Annals" of the Association in 1881. The condensed information given by Captain Sprague in his brief narrative would do honor to a preserving space in this magazine. Speaking of game in those days, he says : "Peter M. Weddell and I killed deer, foxes, squirrels, wild geese, ducks and turkeys not over one mile from where the Weddell house now stands."

George B. Merwin, collector of customs for this port under the administrations of Van Buren, Harrison and Tyler, in part, in his admirable address before the "Association" in 1884, in speaking of Ashbel W. Walworth, says :

He was postmaster, collector of the port (the first), justice of the peace and disbursing agent of the United States government for the construction of the piers at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, keeping all these offices in the front room of his house. The mails were carried on horseback, and came once a week from east to west ; he was also the first letter-carrier Cleveland had, carrying the letters in his hat, and when three or four letters came he would go about and deliver them, then lock up his office and go fishing with the boys.

Captain George E. Payne, in his "Ten



Minutes' Talk" before the "Association" in 1886, recited an old poem, published in the Hartford county papers of Connecticut, just before he "moved his family west," written by his grandfather in 1803, to encourage his neighbors to emigrate, from which the following extract is given:

"Ye swains that are virtuous, healthy and wise,  
Who are possessed of activity and enterprise;  
Who from truth and sobriety will never swerve,  
Come! emigrate with me to the Western Reserve.

There the elk and the stag\* in proud majesty stride,  
There the geese and the ducks on those waters  
glide;

And the fish for to comfort us will amply serve,  
While we cultivate the soil of the Western Reserve."

In his "Twenty Minutes' Talk" before the association in 1887, Captain Payne makes the following quotation from a letter written by Hendrick E. Paine, dated Monmouth, Illinois, January 22, 1877, referring back to early settlers of 1806, viz.:

Right here I must tell a bear story for the boys, yes, and the girls too. It is a true story. Brother Franklin and I started to go to Mr. Whitehill's for a cow, three miles west. Soon after we entered the woods we met the old Indian chief, Seneca, coming into the settlement for help to get a couple of bears in a hollow tree. We had a gun and our little dog, "Rup," that we brought with us from Connecticut. He was a fierce dog for game. I went back to the nearest house and borrowed an axe. I chopped the tree. Old Seneca stood with his gun up, ready, if the old bear made her appearance. When the tree had fallen, old Seneca stood on the log with the muzzle of his gun close to the hole. Directly the old bear stuck out her head. He put a ball through it. Franklin and I took her by the ears and pulled her out. The cub put his head out; a ball finished him! Old Seneca skinned them. He tied most of the meat of the cub in the skin and gave it to Frank and me. The meat of the old bear he tied up in her skin, and put it in the hole and piled brush over it. Then he picked some twigs from a shrub,

chewed them and spit the juice over the brush and on the ground to keep animals, as he said, from eating up his meat.

We went home feeling pretty rich with our bear meat. Mother fried out the fat and kept it to fry doughnuts in—she thought it better than lard.

These testimonials,† coupled with the enthusiasm everywhere seen and felt among men of all ages and races, from Nimrod, the great hunter "before the Lord," the gentle apostles casting their lines into the sea for food-fishes, down to this day, tend, emphatically, to teach us

†Judge Daniel R. Tilden. At the first meeting of the Early Settlers, held May 12, 1880, at the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian church, corner of Euclid avenue and Brownell street, President Honorable Harvey Rice, among others, called upon Judge Tilden for a speech. The judge arose to respond to the call with apparent reluctance and usual modesty, and entertained the society with one of the happiest speeches of the session. He said he didn't come to make a speech—came to see and listen. It always embarrassed him to get up before an intelligent audience like this, and after he had said the first word didn't know what to say next. (All looked, but no one saw him pull any written manuscript from his pocket). But, nevertheless, he went on in his off-hand, humorous way, hitting every salient point square in the bull's-eye without knowing it, except from the laughter and applause he provoked.

He came here, he said, fifty years ago; had nothing then; was looking for nothing in this world, and had not been disappointed much. There was no money. Wheat at three shillings a bushel; muskrat skins, coon skins—yes, and skunk skins were currency at the time, except when it came to tea and leather. We had to scrape around to get money for those things. People were good and neighborly; we had religion then. I think I was more pious then than I ever have been since. And so he went on, as will more fully appear in the "Annals" of the association for 1880, but he did not close until he had disclosed his innate love of game, or the love to talk about it. He said: There were plenty of deer, plenty of bears and plenty of wolves. I recollect one night of hearing the wolves howl, and I would have given the whole United States if I could have got out of Ohio. It was the most heart-sinking sound I ever heard in my life.

\* Deer, is probably meant.

that the pursuit of game and fish-hunting and angling has found, and for all time to come will find, enthusiastic followers of Nimrod and the apostles in the pursuit of game and game fish.

It also teaches us the justness and

wisdom of protecting and preserving game and fish by effective game and fish laws, so as to avoid their utter annihilation in the near future.

D. W. CROSS.

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#### JUDGE ISAAC ATWATER.

THE career of Judge Atwater of Minneapolis, which we are about to record, presents many features which are deeply pathetic, awakening our sympathy for struggling youth and poverty, and many also approaching the heroic, which excite our admiration at the success attending upon a reasonable ambition, supported by an indomitable will and determination to prevail over all possible difficulties in the path of the aspirant. This life and its accomplishments presents to every American youth a standard of emulation. It proves that where there is capacity, accompanied by unconquerable will, no disabilities of birth, station or poverty are insurmountable in this land of freedom and equality of rights. No country in the world offers such rewards to its worthy youth as our own, and it is gratifying to be able to say, that in no country are the proffered advantages more frequently improved than here, as it is a conceded fact that a very large proportion of our distinguished men have sprung from the ranks of the people, and are indebted to no one but themselves for their success in life. The life of Judge Atwater presents a remarkable and interesting example of this almost exclusively American product.

He was born May 3, 1818, at Homer, Courtland county, New York. His parents were Ezra and Esther Atwater, who emigrated in the early part of the present century from New England to central New York, where they purchased a tract of three hundred acres, then an unbroken forest. Here they settled, and underwent all the toil and hardship incident to subduing the primitive wilderness and reducing it to cultivation. The rich and beautiful region of the present day, where these pioneers cast their lot so many years ago, gives no suggestion of the long years of severe labor and privation endured by its early settlers. What were stern facts, and of almost universal experience in the early settlement of New York, have in this age of immense progression become only vague traditions, and can in their intensity be only realized by the few who have survived that heroic era.

Our subject was the ninth of a family of eleven children. He was raised upon his father's farm, and it was expected that farming would be his life vocation. The paternal acres had been reduced to less than one hundred by provision made for the elder brothers, which estate was expected to gratify the expectations and am-

bitions of the younger. He remained on the farm until he arrived at the age of sixteen, performing the usual duties of boys similarly situated; but while engaged in his rustic labors, his mind was elsewhere; undefined longings for more extended fields of higher intellectuality took possession of him, and developed an ever increasing hunger for knowledge. At the age of sixteen he had conquered all that could be obtained from a three months' winter term at the public school of the neighborhood, and by his individual efforts, had made considerable progress in Latin and algebra, besides carefully reading and digesting many works of history that fortunately were accessible to him. At the age of sixteen, in the year 1834, the progress he had made in mental culture through the very limited means at his command, stimulated by his craving for knowledge, decided his course of life. He knew that farming was not his vocation, and he determined to acquire an education if that end was attainable by the exertion of all the forces at his command, which aim would, no doubt, to some have appeared, under the circumstances, as difficult as clearing up a timbered farm. His father was utterly unable to extend to him any assistance in his new endeavors, and did all he could to dissuade him; but both were fixed in their ideas, and so they parted. The next day, after a protracted discussion of the subject, the boy, with his scanty apparel and five dollars as his entire wealth, left the homestead for Auburn to seek his fortune in his own way. His point of destination was thirty miles distant, and he joyously undertook the journey on foot and arrived the same evening. He was not wholly a stranger in Auburn,

having a cousin there, who, like himself, was struggling for an education, and had promised to aid him in the way of instruction, but was unable to do more. On making a statement of his pecuniary ability, they arranged for a vacant room in the seminary utterly destitute of furniture, the fitting up of which, so as to render it habitable, exhausted the funds of the young student, save enough to purchase a very frugal breakfast for the morrow. At this point the desperate necessities of the situation confronted him, and must be met. He was equal to the emergency, sought work, found it of the most simple but honest character, but ample to relieve the pressure of the hour. He sustained himself by about four hours' work a day, and had the rest of the time to devote to study. His industry was soon observed, and rewarded by one of the professors of the seminary offering him the position of gardener for his grounds at the salary of five dollars per week. With this munificent income all doubts of the future disappeared, and young Atwater felt more solidly settled than he has at any subsequent period of his life, when his resources enabled him to contribute thousands to worthy objects of need. The labors of this employment gave him ample time for study, which he abundantly improved. At the end of six months he found himself quite advanced in his work and the possessor of fifteen or twenty dollars of surplus.

That winter he obtained a situation of teacher in a district school. His extreme youth and delicate physique excited doubts as to his ability to maintain this position with success, owing to the rough and unruly character of the boys who composed

the school ; but his pluck was equal to the occasion, and he asked but a trial, feeling confident of his ability to succeed. It was not long before his nerve was put to the test by a mutiny among some of the larger boys, in which our young teacher came out triumphant and settled his status firmly for the future.

When spring arrived his hopes of resuming his studies were destroyed by sickness in his father's family, which necessitated his return to the farm and the assumption of its conduct for a whole year ; but he never for a moment relinquished the idea of thoroughly educating himself. As soon as he was again released he started on a new pilgrimage in quest of learning, with no better financial equipment than on his first venture, but with a large fund of dearly acquired experience, much more valuable than money. He entered the Academy of Cazenovia, where he struggled through the summer under privations which would discourage most boys of this golden age, but which in no way retarded his intellectual progress. In the winter he again obtained a school, and this method was continued from year to year up to 1840, when finding himself thoroughly prepared to enter college, he selected Yale, although aware of its being more expensive than other colleges, because he was advised that the advantages of this institution were superior to others in an educational point of view, and being determined to enjoy the best. He never doubted for a moment his ability to work his way through, which he did triumphantly, as the sequel will disclose. He at once found employment as private tutor to others, the remuneration for which,

small though it was, proved ample for his simple wants. The following winter he took a select school about five miles from New Haven, walking to the college and back every Saturday in order to keep up with his class. He passed into his sophomore year with high honors and was made librarian of the Linonian society, which for a service of not over an hour a day supplied him with means for all his wants. With similar resources he continued his studies until 1844, when he graduated, standing well up in the first quarter of his class in scholarship. In his senior year he was elected one of the editors of the Yale Literary Magazine, a distinction accorded only to the five possessing the highest literary attainments.

There may be nothing very exceptional in this account of young Atwater's struggles to obtain an education ; no doubt many similar examples exist ; our excuse for such a detailed history of this particular instance is the hope that it may strengthen some of the youth of coming generations in their endeavors to attain the same results.

There is nothing in the life of any man that so surely leads to success as a training of this rugged character. Obstacles which seem appalling to the man whose youth has been passed in luxury, vanish before the experience we have described. In fact, very few difficulties ever present themselves in actual life that are more formidable than those which have formed the daily routine of such a self-reliant youth. He meets them undismayed and conquers them unhesitatingly.

In 1844, being launched upon life, Mr. Atwater took charge of an academy in



Macon, Georgia, which he taught for a year. He then returned to New Haven and entered the Yale Law school, from which he graduated in 1847, and at once went to New York city and entered the law office of Robert Benner, esq., who had graduated at Yale in 1842. He was admitted to the bar of New York after the searching examination which prevailed in those days, being one of seven who were admitted out of a class of twenty-one. Being entitled to practice, he opened an office in Nassau street, and his success from the start was phenomenal for an adventurer in that great city. A handsome income rewarded his efforts, and in August, 1849, he married Permelia A. Sanborn of Onondaga county, New York.

In 1850, while in the enjoyment of a gratified ambition, he developed symptoms of consumption which were traceable to his ancestry, and he was ordered by his physician to leave the Atlantic coast and seek a different climate, the wisdom of which command he acquiesced in, although it compelled him to abandon the theatre of his first professional success. In 1849 the territory of Minnesota had been organized by congress and had gained the reputation of being the great sanitarium of the continent and especially favorable to the relief of pulmonary difficulties. In September, 1850, he visited the Falls of St. Anthony, then a lumbering settlement of two or three hundred people, where he met John W. North, a former school-mate, who had opened a law office and who offered him a partnership, which he accepted, and in October of the same year he was duly located at this then remote point with his family,

and once more engaged in the line of his profession. At that time the journey from Chicago to St. Anthony occupied six days, being made from Elgin, Illinois, by stage and steamboat. The style of living was primitive and rough, but the climate fully realized the hopes of the invalid and a vigorous appetite condoned for all short-comings in the *menu*. Mr. Atwater rapidly regained his health, which he has enjoyed to the present time.

The legislature which convened in 1850 located the State university at St. Anthony, which result was largely due to the efforts of John W. North, who was a member of that body, and Isaac Atwater was elected by the same legislature a member of the board of regents of the university, and was by the board made its secretary and treasurer, in which capacity he labored unceasingly for many years in the interests of this important educational institution, and was largely instrumental in securing for it its present desirable and beautiful site, and in resisting the vigorous efforts that were made to remove the institution from St. Anthony. In the varying fortunes of the state university, Mr. Atwater was ever at the front as one of its strongest defenders and most industrious and intelligent promoters. A clause in the state constitution of 1857 settled the question of its permanent location and ensured its success.

Like all aspiring western towns, St. Anthony, in the spring of 1851, concluded that it must have a newspaper. An enterprising citizen, Mr. Elmer Tyler, offered to supply the plant if an editor could be found to conduct the literary work, and Mr. Atwater was induced to undertake

that department temporarily, until someone in that line of work could be found. The paper was launched under the name of the *St. Anthony Express*. The enterprise was wholly one for the public benefit, no one connected with it expecting to receive anything but such indirect reward as might result to the community. The editor did not allow his new duties to interfere with his legal work, but being once involved, he felt the responsibility, and found it more difficult to cease his connection with the paper than he had anticipated, and it was not until he had expended quite a large sum of money in keeping the enterprise afloat, and his election to the supreme bench of the state in 1857, that he was enabled to sever his connection with the paper.

It 1852 Mr. Atwater was appointed by Governor Ramsey reporter of the supreme court of the territory, and in 1853 he was elected district attorney of the county of Hennepin. Prior to 1854 he had acted with the Whig party and given his support to its heresy of a high protective tariff, but experience had convinced him of his error, and the Whig party becoming merged in the growing Free-soil element of the day, he found refuge politically in the Democratic party, where he has ever since remained. While he deplored the existence of slavery as much as anyone, he could not lend himself to any but constitutional methods for its suppression.

In 1857, at the first state election under the Constitution, he was chosen associate justice of the supreme court, and entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office early in 1858, and occupied that

responsible position until June, 1864, when he resigned for reasons which will be hereafter stated and which reflect great credit upon his character for punctilious honor.

The supreme bench of the state consisted of a chief-justice and two associate justices. The state was new; the administration of justice was in rather a chaotic condition, and many of the important constitutional questions that came before the court for decision had to be determined upon first impression and without guiding precedent, which rendered the duties of the judges difficult and unusually important. To this work the judge brought a well-trained mind, thorough conscientiousness and great industry. His judicial record is found in volumes two to nine of the 'Reports of the State,' and has stood the scrutiny of the bar and bench for a quarter of a century without detriment from comparison or otherwise.

Previous to his elevation to the bench he had in the course of business loaned many thousands of dollars for eastern parties on landed security, and generally at the enormous interest of two and a half per cent. per month, which was the current rate of that day. In 1857 a financial crash destroyed all values in the state, reduced the people to poverty and rendered the payment of debts an impossibility. Although Judge Atwater was in no sense responsible to these creditors, having never guaranteed their claims, and only exercised his judgment for them in placing the loans, they became clamorous for their money, and rather than have even his judgment impugned, he offered to allow them to select from his private securities

amounts equal to their claims, or to give them his note in exchange for them bearing one per cent. per month. They all accepted the latter, which left him with very large outstanding obligations, which he was compelled to meet to save his credit.

About that time the new territory of Nevada held out especial promise of large returns for professional services, and the judge had friends there who were very strong in their solicitations for him to emigrate to that country. Solely with the view of availing himself of this opportunity of making some ready money to meet his self-assumed obligations, he resigned his seat on the bench and went to Nevada and located at Carson City. He met with immediate success, and induced the writer of this article, who was then his associate on the supreme bench, to resign and join him in Nevada. In two years and a half he realized all his hopes and paid every dollar of his indebtedness, principal and interest. He never contemplated a permanent departure from this state, and when his cherished object was achieved, he returned to Minnesota better satisfied than with any venture of his life. After his return he continued in the practice of his profession in Minneapolis, where the writer joined him, and was his partner for four years, under the firm name of Atwater & Flandrau. Since the dissolution of that firm the judge has devoted himself largely to public affairs of a municipal and educational character. He was for several years a member of the common council of his city, and for two years president of that body. He was also a member of the board of education, and president of that

body. He has been honored by being chosen for two terms president of the board of trade of his city. He has taken an influential and active part in the development of the railroad system of Minneapolis, and held many offices of trust in such enterprises. His many active business duties have not in any way interfered with his constant devotion to the interests of the Protestant Episcopal church, to which organization he has ever been a liberal contributor and zealous member, having filled the office of warden of Gethsemane church for upwards of twenty years, and represented the church for over thirty years in its diocesan council and its triennial conventions. For the past four years he has been president of the board of trustees of St. Barnabas' hospital, one of the oldest and most successful benevolent institutions of his city. It will be seen from the above narrative that Judge Atwater has lived a life of great labor and activity. We have mentioned only his professional and public achievements, but it is a satisfaction to his biographer and friend to add, that amid the multiplicity of matters which have engaged his attention, he has been wise enough not to forget himself, and has by judicious investment and a prudent economy amassed a very comfortable fortune, which his many friends hope he may live long to enjoy.

Some four years ago he was compelled by the pressure of his private interests to relinquish his professional business, in which he has largely been succeeded by his son, John B. Atwater, also a graduate of Yale and its law school, and a young man of great promise, who stands, if not

at, very near the head of the bar of Hennepin county.

Recognizing the ability of the judge's son, the regents of the State university have recently appointed him lecturer on real estate in the law department of that now

flourishing institution, where no doubt he will take great interest and pleasure in planting the seeds of learning in the field so thoroughly fertilized by his sire in a past generation.

CHAS. E. FLANDRAU.

#### PROFESSOR HINSDALE'S LATEST BOOK HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

'THE OLD NORTHWEST,' BY B. A. HINSDALE, PH. D., PROFESSOR OF THE SCIENCE AND ART OF TEACHING, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; AUTHOR OF 'SCHOOLS AND STUDIES,' ETC. NEW YORK: TOWNSEND MACCOUIN, 1888.

THE title page of this large octavo volume promises a history limited chiefly to French times, and the last seems to assure the reader that the author is a scholar of research who has left nothing undone to get at the truth. What lies between does not fulfill the promise or make good the assurance. The title is a misnomer. The "Old Northwest," in so far as there was one, ended in 1763; according to the author, there is no continuity or connection between it and the northwest of the British or Americans that succeeded.

Many things are true or false relatively, only. Hence the Ordinance of 1787 had a definite meaning, because it included all the territory within what may be called an immense geographical *cul-de-sac*, or, as Latin writers might term it, *insula*, whose confines were British, Spanish and state lines; but it does not follow because this *cul-de-sac* included most of the inhabited territory of the French northwest that there was identity. The Louisiana of the Company of the West was not the Louisiana of La Salle; nor

the Louisiana of Crozat's day the Louisiana of the Company of the West.

The old northwest is only a geographical expression. It could not but include the district of the Illinois which extended to the Rocky mountains.

The few ancient inhabitants that remained east of the Mississippi after the cession counted for little or nothing in the long run. Government, laws, religion supported by the state, manners and customs disappeared in the disaster of Quebec. Whatever was distinctively French vanished with French dominion. Its vestiges were obliterated by the English-speaking race which took possession of the land. These things are insisted upon by Dr. Hinsdale. In fact (page 68), the war was waged for the express purpose of destroying French civilization.

"The central purpose of the professor's book is to portray the features of the old northwest and make of it an historical unit.....No previous writer has covered the ground and the work is wholly new in conception." So Dr. Hinsdale



really takes credit to himself for originality in producing "an historical unit" by the simple process of compelling the heterogeneous to stand face to face, as though things coalesced into unity by mere juxtaposition, and not in virtue of a common principle. On the old northwest, in so far as there was one, H. W. Beckwith has written a better book than the one under consideration, and not blown his trumpet in advance.

On going over, one by one, the long list of "authorities cited" placed at the end—the mine from which were dug the elemental units with which the "historical unit" was made—the most casual observer may note that it does not include a single French work, original or translation. To produce "a historical unit" of "the Old Northwest" without the aid of those from whom we derive all, or nearly all, we know about it, is certainly to cover ground covered by no previous writer, and "wholly new in conception." Could not as much be said of the play of Hamlet brought out with the character of Hamlet omitted? and of the showman's claim that his ridgel monkey was an original variety and the most perfect beast of the troop? It is to be presumed the professor knows French.

Dr. Hinsdale sets out by annexing "Ohio" to the "Old Northwest," for which he has no authority except his own "wholly new conception" of things. "Ohio" never was, geographically, or in any respect, part of the "Old Northwest." It had no settlement, no mission and, as far as I know, but one post, and that of a late date. It was a wilderness of which Indians and beasts were the sole inhabi-

tants. Besides, "Ohio" is a geographical term of which the French were absolutely ignorant.

The author tells us (page 31) that "it is now generally held that . . . La Salle discovered the Ohio, descending it to the falls at Louisville, and perhaps even to the Mississippi." This is Hinsdalizing Parkman, who says: "That he (La Salle) discovered the Ohio may then be regarded as established. That he descended it to the Mississippi, he himself does not pretend, nor is there any reason to believe that he did so." Parkman's opinions are always respectable, even such as one cannot accept, for he is no peddler of other people's notions. And, probably, Dr. Hinsdale's "generally held" comes to this, and no more—that Parkman thinks La Salle made the discovery; but to tack on to "generally held," "perhaps the descent to the Mississippi," is, I suspect, unwarranted. How many persons who have weighed the facts for themselves believe in the La Salle Ohio river discovery, this writer does not know. He is not of the number, simply because he finds the evidence insufficient. The alleged proof consists of three documents, of which two are one and the same, and the third shows simply that La Salle claimed what he claims in the other two—namely, to have made such a discovery. So that, in fact, the only proof is the claim itself. To one acquainted with the falls region at Louisville, what is said about it in the 'History of Mr. La Salle' and La Salle's 'Memorial' to Count Frontenac appears to me conclusive that the person who describes it was never there. It seems much like a discovery made from

Indian accounts imperfect in description, or imperfectly understood, perhaps both. The question is in a nut-shell. What is the practical judgment on certain facts? Parkman has given the facts, though his presentation is scarcely adequate and is toned with a bias. The facts in his opinion establish the claim. But until new affirmative evidence is produced, the claim can never be substantiated, but must remain open; for there will always be earnest, careful, competent students of history to find in the very terms of the claim itself its own refutation.

#### ST. CLARE.

On page 33 "we have an excellent example" of the origin of many French geographical names "in the naming of Lake Sainte-Claire." But this is not all. Dr. Hinsdale, thinking that just here the reader needed a sedative, prescribes a little dose of pious information; but instead of sending it to the old-time, trustworthy compounders, like the *Acta Sanctorum*, Wadding or Butler, he prefers the newer pharmacy of Bela Hubbard. And this is what is to be swallowed: the person in question was "the female Sainte Claire (was there a male also?), foundress of the Poor Claires, Clara d'Assisi, who on a Palm Sunday went to church in rich attire with her family, where St. Francis cut off her hair and threw over her the coarse robes of the order. She entered the convent of San Damiano in spite of family opposition. The Saracens coming to ravage the convent, she met them at the threshold with the host, began to sing, and they threw down their arms and fled. Sancta Clara is a favorite saint and her

fame in the new world ought not to be spoiled by a misspelt name. Sancta Clara has her tomb at the Minerva (Rome), and she dwelt between the Pantheon and the Baths of Agrippa. The tenement she occupied still exists—the first convent of the Clairisses, where Innocent IV. visited her. There she died."

Let us analyze the sedative and see what are its ingredients.

"Sainte Claire" is French, not English; and "Poor Claires" is a jumble of both. "Clara d'Assisi" is not English, but should be Clara of Assisium; nor is "Sancta Clara." "Clairisses" is not English, nor "San Damiano," but St. Damian.

As persons, saints are of this or that nation; as saints, they have no nationality. The names derived from them belong to the world, and change according to the language in which they are used. The acts and ritual of the Church of Rome are in Latin, but the peoples that venerate the personages she raises to the altar address them and speak of them each after its own manner; thus, Sanctus Jacobus of Rome, in German becomes Heilige Jacobus; in Spanish, San Iago; in French, St. Jacques; in English, St. James, and so on. It is just as much a violation of what should be to call this saint in English Heilige Jacobus, or St. Jacques, as to state that *schnapps* or *eau de vie*, meaning brandy, was sent among the Indians. Imagine a newspaper to inform its American readers, on the authority of a German exchange: "Queen Victoria held a levee at Heilige Jacobus;" or on that of a French: "The Prince of Galles' carriage was upset on its way to Saint Jacques."

Nor does it help the matter in the least when the foreign form is much like our own.

The title and name of her of whom there is question, in our tongue is St. Clare, and her order is the Poor Clares. In the Catholic church every person when baptized receives as his Christian name the name of a saint, and by this name alone is he baptized. This saint appears to be the first Sancta Clara canonized; and, therefore, it may be inferred that her name is the feminized form of St. Clarus, an English martyr of the ninth century, by whose name, St. Clair, two villages in northwest France were called. The same form, Clair, is nowadays used occasionally for the feminine, though Clara is ordinarily given to girls named after St. Clare. I do not know when the Latin form, Clara, first came into use in English. According to Camden, and later authorities also, the family name Sinclair is derived from St. Clare.

St. Clare's hair was not cut off in church on Palm Sunday, but the evening following, at a place a mile from Assisium. The "robes" thrown over her was a piece of sackcloth. She did not enter the convent of St. Damian in spite of her friends. The St. Damian house was the third of which she became an inmate. The Saracens were part of Frederick II.'s army, whom she met at the gate, where she did not sing, but said prayers.

St. Clare's tomb is not in, or, as the author has it, at the Minerva (does he know what "the Minerva" is?); she did not dwell near the Pantheon; the first convent of the Clares was not in Rome. Innocent IV. did not visit the saint in Rome; she did not die there; she never

was in that city. The author thinks her fame ought not to be "spoiled by a misspelt name;" yet he has done his best in the way of misspelling, confusing and confounding, besides miswriting her life.

So Dr. Hinsdale's hagiographical prescription, instead of a comforting sedative, through the incompetency of its compounders, proves a violent emetic.

But overshadowing Dr. Hinsdale, and Mr. Bela Hubbard is an authority all respect: "They named it Sainte Claire, of which the present name is a perversion." The Boston historian is a master of much learning and varied: this reviewer is not. Yet, with the statement, that in English it is a "perversion" not to adhere to the French form of this, or any saint's name, issue is joined not only by a direct negative, but by the assertion that to use it is a "perversion." The first comers called their great Canadian river Saint Laurent: bold the man who says St. Lawrence is a "perversion." La Louisiane, for more than a century, was the name of the Mississippi valley: is Louisiana a perversion? An original name after the Christian or saint's name of a person applied to an object may be adopted and perpetuated in its original form by those speaking another language. Usage, from which there is no appeal, makes what is proper. But apart from this, each tongue has an inherent right to its own forms of such names to the exclusion of all foreign forms, binding upon those that speak and use it. They that disregard this right do violence to their language and pervert it.

A NAME AS HE SHOULD NOT BE WROTE.

On page 38 and elsewhere, we are

told something about Récollet Fathers. Positively, this word is not English, and you have no more right to use it than Jesuites, Franciscains, Capeucins and the like. As well Frenchify all the geographical names that occur in French-American history. Recollect is the English name of this Spanish order, or reform, as good as the French and older too. The example of Parkman, pernicious in this instance, does not justify barbarizing our mother speech. In 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Parkman has reformed, writing *Recollet* without the accent, which, though a little used form, at least is English. If learned professors wish to write French, let them do so to their heart's content; but if English, use words and terms proper to the language. Our tongue is not so poor that we need beg of foreigners the garments wherewithal to clothe what we wish to say.

#### OLD KASKASKIA.

Old Kaskaskia was begun in the terrestrial paradise before the close of the seventeenth century. In 1712 Old Kaskaskia was the capital of Illinois. In 1721 it was the seat of a college and monastery. Fort Chartres, founded in 1720, was the later capital and one of the most formidable fortresses on the continent. This astonishing information is given on pages 44 and 48; and on turning the next leaf we have more of the same sort. "The Jesuit college at Kaskaskia continued to flourish until the irruption of hostilities with Great Britain."

This *farrago* of "new conceptions" is gravely written down by a doctor in philosophy as part of the history of the "Old Northwest." What does he mean by "Old

Kaskaskia?" The mission of Our Lady of the Kaskaskia's on the Illinois river? If so, it was begun many years before. Or the present town? If the latter, neither the author nor anyone can show that it was begun in the seventeenth century, still less at the imaginary date of 1695, assigned on his map. The removal of the mission from the Illinois to the Kaskaskia river in 1700 or 1701, is the earliest date known; but this does not show when the hamlet was founded, for the white village and the Indian mission village were some miles apart. I find no evidence that the former grew out of the latter. Even the letter of Gravier to Bienville, asking protection against vagabond Canadians who debauched the Indian women, does not make out a settlement where Kaskaskia stands. The vagabonds, as well as the decent French who married squaw wives, were among the Kaskaskia's at their village.

"Illinois" belongs exclusively to American, not French days; and as such has a meaning unknown in the latter. Neither "Old Kaskaskia" nor New Kaskaskia was in 1712, or at any time, the capital of anything. There were no capitals in the valley; even New Orleans was designated only as *la ville*—the city. Neither in 1721, nor later, nor earlier, was it the seat of a college or a monastery. The Jesuit college at Kaskaskia did not continue to flourish until the irruption of hostilities with Great Britain, for its existence is an imagination. There never was in French days a college in the Illinois, or anything thus designated, or which performed the functions of one; nor in all Louisiana, outside New Orleans, a monastic community or a monastery. Does this gentleman,



who is supposed to have read ever so many books, imagine that Jesuits are monks? Who the "monastery" people were, he does not say. The Jesuits had a residence at Kaskaskia, built after 1721, in which two or three lived—nothing more.

Fort Chartres was not founded in 1720, or founded at all, but built in the spring of 1719. It was a common picket fort, and so remained for over thirty years, when M'Carty erected near it a stone fort. An exact detailed description of the M'Carty work as it was surrendered to Captain Stirling has long been in print. Its plan, dimensions, height and thickness of wall can be easily ascertained by anyone willing to take the trouble to read, and what it was capable of resisting. To call it a "formidable fortress" is, to put it mildly, an unmitigated exaggeration. In 1721 the fort was appointed, not "the capital of Illinois," but the *chef lieu*—chief place, or district seat of the District of the Illinois.

NOW BEHEMOTH, BIGGEST BORN OF EARTH,  
UPHEAVES HIS VASTNESS.

On page 50 the "pregnant" Dr. Ellis is brought before the reader, as one of the huge units composing the "historical unit" called the "Old Northwest." Who this important personage is, in what he is doctor, since so many things have their doctorate, and why he is "pregnant," we are not informed; but if what Dr. Hinsdale, as *accoucheur*, presents is a real birth, not a suppositious, one need not go far afield to find the father; "for every Indian converted to Christianity hundreds of white men have fallen to the level of barbarians." Possibly the remark means

that Christianity is a sort of intellectual enlightenment inconsistent with savagism, and so rarely communicated to an Indian that a "converted" one is like hen's teeth, a *lusus naturæ*. If so, pass it over to the man who says, "Answer not a fool according to his folly." But if in this universal proposition applied to the French missions its two members are intended, one as cause, the other as effect, it is a falsehood, for their only connection is forced juxtaposition; or if simply a "pregnant" judgment antithetically announced, it is equally untrue. Who has established the number of "converted" Indians as the standard, by inverse ratio of one to hundreds, of whites who have become barbarians? As well say, for every meeting-house built, thousands of New Englanders have gone to hell; or, for each history published, hundreds of lies about the past are told.

Ranging the western wilds in French times was a considerable body of men, less numerous, I think, after the first quarter of the eighteenth century than previously, but which it may well be doubted ever exceeding a thousand souls, mostly traffickers and their assistants. A part was, or became, vagabond; the rest returned in time to the place whence they came, or settled elsewhere. A good many married Indian women. Their children were half-breeds—a distinguishing designation of origin, not of degradation. The object of these woodrangers was trade, their customers the Indians, whose haunts they sought. Brandy was an important item of their outfit.

While these men were roving, doubtless many gratified nature; but not a whit

more than is done the year round with women not squaws by the people of the larger towns in minister-ridden New England and elsewhere, and very generally by male tourists abroad, who have no partners, or leave them at home. Persons who do this thing are not said to become barbarians. Before flinging mud at the old French, it would be better first to bespatter those at home. A red-skin does not increase the immorality or barbarize the male; in fact, of the two, intimacy with Indian girls is less degrading than with the fallen women of a town, and, as practised so frequently in New York and New England, with other persons' female property.

Brandy was the moral and physical ruin of the Indian and the demoralization of its vendors. Bishop Laval and the Jesuits on one side, to their eternal honor, Frontenac and his set on the other, respectively represent for all time the contest, those against, these for, allowing the existence of this infernal traffic. Many persons in our day, professors of pedagogy and "pregnant" doctors included, are not found ranged with the first, for whom they seem to entertain an instinctive aversion.

No one has the right to fling in our faces such wicked statements as the one under consideration. According to an estimate made, at least, with care and a sincere desire to approximate the truth, during the one hundred and fifty-five years that followed the founding of Quebec, it would seem that the total number that roamed the west frequenting the Indians could not have amounted to 7,000 persons; but set down 10,500 persons. The

number of Indians "converted," that is, including the sick and dying children and adults baptized, during the same period, was over 25,000. If but only one-third the adults persevered, and as such alone swelled the number, it would still leave 15,000 "souls saved for heaven." Therefore, if every individual, according to the highest estimate, of the number that went among the Indians "became an Indian himself," the balance would still be largely in favor of the "converted." But the supposition is an absurdity. Now compare these statistics, which cannot easily be shown to be unreasonable, with the "pregnant," so ceremoniously introduced: "for every Indian converted to Christianity, hundreds of white men have fallen to the level of barbarians," and it will easily be seen that great men, doctors even, with pomp and antithesis, may issue their judgments, and the same be accepted with the solemnities of adoption, yet not worth the paper on which they are printed.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL LOUISIANA.

"The first Louisiana, in a geographical sense, is that of Franquelin's great map, 1684.... The first political Louisiana was the grant made to Anthony Crozat, in 1712," are told us on page 51. Dr. Hinsdale seems fond of seven league boots traveling, delightful, perhaps, when one is in quest of "new conceptions," but very unsatisfactory when one wishes to know something of the lands one is passing over. What does he mean by the first Louisiana in a geographical sense being that of Franquelin's map? for I do not know. Is it, that Franquelin first platted it? Parkman, whom he cites, doesn't say

so, and it isn't so; for Marquette, Hennepin and Joliet were earlier, and the Thevenot version is nearer the truth. Parkman writes: "The Louisiana of *La Salle*" is shown on the Franquelin map—a very different thing. Professor Hinsdale omits the last two qualifying words. "La Salle's Louisiana" was an imagination, part of the splendid, wonder-working "poem," of which the author speaks on page 37; it was Louisiana with immense additions tacked on which never were of its belonging. The Wisconsin river region and "the unknown northwest" beyond, the Sioux region, the Lake region and "Ohio" at no time were part of Louisiana.

Again, what does he mean by the "first political Louisiana?" The context seems to indicate a government over a certain territory. But a government co-extensive with territorial limits, definitely separated from Canada, had been established long before under Iberville, and continued under his successors; and though its limits as to confines lacked exactness, as much can be said, in part, at least, of the limits mentioned in the Crozat instrument. Whatever of the Mississippi valley, in a large sense, and its appurtenances, was not subject to Canada was under the government of the "Colony of the Mississippi," otherwise Louisiana. De Callières, governor of New France, complains, in a dispatch to Ponchartrain, 1700, that he had not let him know "that the king had detached that country . . . from the general government of this colony (Canada)," and the same minister to the same governor, 1701, informs him of the refusal of the king to place the new colony "under his orders."

It is said, and perhaps with truth, that in the "Crozat grant" was the first description attempted of the supposed boundaries of Louisiana, excluding the east Mississippi part of the Illinois, but that is very different from the "first political Louisiana."

Has the author made a study of the history of Louisiana other than dipping into Monette and reading Cable? If so, why has he put such strange things in his book? Has he scrutinized "the grant made to Anthony Crozat" to ascertain its significance? Has he even read "the grant" through with ordinary attention, that he tells us, "Crozat's Louisiana was a separate colony, but not wholly independent of Canada," when the very words of the instrument are: "The government of Louisiana shall be dependent upon the general government of New France, to which it is subordinate?"

Professor Hinsdale seems to have a fancy for generalizations grouped picturesquely; but most persons, probably, prefer plain facts stated with exactness. What he has said about "Crozat" and "Crozat's Louisiana" does not satisfy this preference. Somehow, I suspect he never read "the grant," but borrowed another's account of it; and if so, he is not the first person who has undertaken to instruct the world in a matter about which he himself needed instruction. There was no Crozat's Louisiana.

It may be worth while to point out here, that the decree often loosely called "Crozat's charter," among the several things it effected, was especially potential for two most important objects entirely independent of each other: First, to

create anew "a government of Louisiana." Next, to grant a trade monopoly to an individual. I lay stress on this distinction as necessary to the proper understanding of the instrument.

"The government of Louisiana" was dependent upon and subordinate to the governor of Canada. The trade monopoly was not; it was absolute. "The government of Louisiana" continued to the close of French dominion; the monopoly perished in a few years.

It is to be observed, also, that however extensive, territorially, was the Crozat monopoly—a question which does not concern us here—the Louisiana of Crozat's day was dismembered Louisiana; for it is certain that the Illinois country, at least the east Mississippi part, was cut off and annexed to Canada, and so remained as long as Crozat's exclusive privileges continued.

#### DISTRICT OF THE ILLINOIS.

"In 1717," says the book, page 51, "Illinois, with limits not very different from those of the present state, was made a separate government but still dependent upon Louisiana. Still later, the Wabash country was separated from Illinois. . . . They were personal governments—governments of officers, not of laws. The governor and the intendant commonly quarreled, as the king, no doubt, expected and desired." A bundle of mistakes, confusion and nonsense. There was no "Illinois"—the term belongs to American times—but the country of the Illinois, *pays des Illinois*, the country of the Illinois Indians; and the Illinois country was not made a separate government in 1717,

or at any other time. There never was a governor, or an intendant, in the Illinois or the Wabash, and, consequently, they did not quarrel. They are part of the "new conception" of the author.

A half educated backwoodsman, like this writer, may be excused for misusing language and writing loosely, but one expects from a professor of the science of pedagogy exactness in terms, and that he will not apply those of a present established meaning to a condition of things totally different from the present time. Besides, writers fond of Frenchifications, "Récollet-ing" when there is not the slightest occasion, could indulge their fancy in this line and still be correct in fact, in regard to French officials, by designating these personages as they were called and popularly known in their own language; but if they prefer their mother tongue, at least let them use the corresponding English terms, and not fanciful appellations. From first to last during French times in the valley there was but one official known as governor, the representative of the king at New Orleans; the civil officer next to him was not an intendant, but a *commissaire ordonnateur*, translate as you like.

The historical facts are as follows: In 1717, when the Crozat monopoly—not "the government of Louisiana"—was surrendered to the king, and the Company of the West obtained the control of the colony, the Illinois country was re-annexed to it. In 1721, for the convenience of the inhabitants, the whole of Louisiana was divided into nine districts, and each provided with a *chef lieu*—chief place, or district seat—where its affairs



were officially transacted; a commandant, who also exercised certain civil functions; a judge, a clerk, a bailiff, who executed the decrees of the court, an attorney for the king, a notary and a storekeeper. These districts and officers, relatively to the times, bore somewhat the same relations to the supreme government at New Orleans with its superior tribunals, that a county bears to a state. The districts equipped with the machinery of local administration continued down to the cession. In 1723 the Wabash was cut off from the Illinois and made a separate district.\*

\*I do not know whether the decree was carried into effect in that year or later. This decree is of considerable historical importance as showing that the Illinois and the district originally extended eastwardly to where the Scioto post was later established, which post was a part of Canada; and northwardly, on the same side of the Wabash, to the range of the tribes around Ouitenon, which always belonged to Canada. Might it not lead to something definite, were those specially interested in the beginning of Vincennes, instead of confounding the hamlet with Juchereau's tannery establishment, or inventing dates, or copying Bancroft or someone else, to endeavor to ascertain when the decree of 1723 was put into force in regard to the Wabash? For then and there, Vincennes, if not already in existence, of which I have not found proof, must have begun. I am certain the information can be had without much difficulty if someone is willing to pay for the search. The ordinance of 1714, decreeing the permanent establishment of a fort, *Au Onabache*, to be commanded by Richebourg, with forty men, but which was never built, meant the lower Ohio river. Bobe's letter to Delisle says: "Towards the mouth of the Onabache, on the Mississippi."

The trans-Wabash region must have been part of the Illinois country from the earliest times. It was frequently called the Illinois until after 1763. In the dispute as to limits between the governor of Canada and the colony of the Mississippi—that is, Louisiana—in the first years of the eighteenth century, the former urged that the Ohio river should be the dividing line, which he would scarcely have done had the Illinois country not then extended beyond the Wabash stream.

The district of the Illinois thus constituted included only so much of the state that retains the name as is bounded by the Wabash, the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Illinois rivers, and a line drawn from the mouth of the Vermillion to a point not far above Lake Peoria;† but it extended westwardly, between the Arkansas and the Sioux regions, to the Rocky mountains. The district was ten times larger than the present state of the name. The Illinois of Renault de la Renaudière, for which he wanted Negroes, was chiefly in the present state of Missouri, where the mines were. He had extensive and costly works within twenty miles of St. Louis.

The government of the district was not one of "officers," but of law. The laws of France, the Custom of Paris, introduced formally in the decree creating "the Government of Louisiana," were specifically renewed in that giving the monopoly of the colony to the Company of the West. Causes were tried, and other legal proceedings had, relatively to circumstances, much as in France, and appeals were always open to the superior court at New Orleans. The record of one of the judges—Buchet—running through many years, is still in existence, in which the legal proceedings and judgments of the court are succinctly written out, still substantially somewhat as the records of our courts. Land was had for the asking, and the commandant and

†Beckwith, on the authority of Pownall, says that about the time of the old French and Indian war, the district was enlarged to include the triangle bounded by the Illinois, the Mississippi and Rock rivers. I have not been able to find proof of this extension.

judge always signed the grant. The commandant did not perform the functions of the judge, nor the judge trench upon the duties of the notary or attorney.

#### CONCLUSION.

The list of unnoticed objectionable statements is still a long one, but limited is the space allowed the reviewer; therefore, he lets the rest go, and passes on to the closing days of the "Old Northwest," the fall of Canada, in 1760, and the treaty of 1763. But of them the author has little or nothing of consequence to say. Yet he could have found much to write about them well worth writing. He has prepared instead a long antithetical catalogue of what Wolfe and Montcalm "stood for" respectively—fantastic, synonymic substitutes for their names—according to which, as might be expected, the former was to be taken for everything that was good, the latter for all that was bad. But in place of heeding these catalogued phantasms gibbering their routine lesson, let us, rather, listen to what the British hero said of himself and his mission, to the voice of history and the echoes of fact: "We come not to disturb you, either in property or religion, so long as you remain neutral—we come to war on our enemies, the army and navy of France." Wolfe was the instrument of the aggressive spirit of Pitt, of a determined purpose to crush France for the commercial and maritime aggrandizement of England and to make her supreme among the nations. As the storm cloud represents the stored force which leaps with shattering violence upon those objects to which its law directs its

course, so Wolfe may be said to "stand for" a state policy which he was appointed to promote by force of arms. But more, and above all, Wolfe, unconsciously, was the selected minister of the Almighty to do justice upon those whose measure of iniquity had long been filled to overflowing; he "stood for" and was the thunderbolt of God to rive and destroy forever in our American land the tie of government and dominion which bound us to administrators and rulers beyond the sea, whose vices and horrible wickednesses had merited the vengeance of heaven.

The "Old Northwest" vanishes, and it is not proposed to follow the author into the new, which, according to his own showing, has nothing to do with it. The line of demarcation he himself points out is so plain and so broad that no one can mistake it. The breath of Anglo-American civilization passed over the land like the sirocco, blasting and destroying the French settlements as well as the Indians, so that scarcely a trace of them can be found in the northwest of to-day—the population is as effectually lost in the past as the Mound Builders. The French settlements did not become an element in the civilization of the northwest (see pp. 159 to 161). Holding these views and more of the same sort, and expressing them so strongly, why did he try to yoke what to him is a dead past—physically, morally, intellectually dead; dead in branch, stem and root, without survivor or representative; dead in affinity and potentiality—with the living present, and think to make of the impossible conjunction an "historical unit."

Picking out an item here and there as strikes one's fancy, without consulting an original authority or a document, or taking pains to ascertain whether such pickings are flowers or weeds, may be easy and pleasant; but what is thus gathered is apt to turn out a collection of facts, half facts and all sorts of mistakes, in-

cluding those of one's own commission. For such as wish to collect a nosegay in the garden of the "Old Northwest" after this fashion, what a blessed thing it is that Parkman has written books, that compilations exist and indexes have been invented.

OSCAR W. COLLET.

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## EARLY SETTLEMENT OF MARQUETTE, MICHIGAN.

### I.

MARQUETTE, Michigan, is a city of about eight thousand inhabitants in the Upper Peninsula. The stranger, on visiting it for the first time, is surprised to find so enterprising and prosperous a city in a region usually considered so remote from the centres of commerce and civilization. Traveling over one hundred and fifty miles by rail from St. Ignace, at which point one leaves behind the great steamers of the Detroit and Cleveland lines and other evidences of connection with the older cities, and seems to plunge into an interminable wilderness, broken only here and there by the rudest attempts at clearing, heightens the impression which the stranger feels in passing over this route for the first time, that he is being conveyed into an undiscovered country from whose bourn "he begins to think seriously of the possibilities of ever returning." He is, however, measurably reassured as he emerges from the dismal forest and catches a glimpse of the city across the beautiful Iron bay, around an arc of which the train soon curves to its station in the heart

of a busy, bustling town, with well-paved streets, fine business houses and no lack of evidences of modern progress.

Marquette is not remote, nor indeed is any city situated on the great lines of commerce and communication which connect it with the whole busy world. Our great lines of railroad and waterways have made all our cities metropolitan, and Chicago, San Francisco, St. Paul, Detroit and Marquette are as much in the world as are New York and Boston. Marquette is situated on one of the great trunk lines of railway connecting the Northern Pacific with the Atlantic sea-board, viz., the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic railroad and its connections, lately established by the enterprise and capital of Mr. James McMillen and others. This road intersects the entire Upper Peninsula, traversing the south shore of Lake Superior from its two eastern *termini*—Sault Ste. Marie and St. Ignace—to Duluth, having branches south to Republic and north to Houghton and Hancock. It connects with the great Chicago and Northwestern

system at Negaunee, twelve miles west of Marquette, and with the Michigan Central and the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroads at Mackinaw, where it also connects with the lake steamers plying between Buffalo, Detroit and Cleveland and the ports on Lake Michigan—Milwaukee and Chicago. The Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic railroad runs through trains east and west daily, crossing the Straits of Mackinaw, without change, on the new transfer steamer, *St. Ignace*.

Marquette is the chief centre of the iron-mining and shipping interests of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Its situation is on Iron bay, an inlet of Lake Superior, so named from the discovery of iron deposits in this vicinity in 1844. Marquette lighthouse, erected by the government in 1853, is in latitude 46 degrees, 32 minutes, 55 seconds north, and longitude 87 degrees, 22 minutes, 12 seconds west. The view from it is extensive and beautiful. The Stannard Rock light, erected in 1882, is plainly visible on a clear night from the lighthouse in Marquette harbor, a distance of forty miles.

Although the climate of this region is subject to occasional dense mists, and often chilly to almost midsummer, its atmosphere in fair weather is most healthy and invigorating, making it a most delightful region in which to spend the heat of summer. Some of the more wealthy citizens have their elegant summer homes on the breezy bluffs overlooking the bay, but spend their winters in Florida or southern California.

The city of Marquette is about equidistant from the St. Mary's and Montreal rivers, the eastern and western boundaries

of the Upper Peninsula. It is one hundred and seventy miles from Sault Ste. Marie; four hundred and forty-six miles by water from Detroit; and four hundred and thirty miles by rail from Chicago.

On approaching the city by water it presents a picturesque appearance. Its general aspect is that of an amphitheatre, rising as it recedes from the eye, and on both sides from the centre, which is pierced by the several busy mining railroads, shooting backwards and forwards almost incessantly to and from the long tressed ore docks, in the pockets of which are deposited thousands of tons of the incipient iron daily. The railroad company have three ore piers, one of which is said to be the largest and best in the world, being 1,222 feet long, 38 feet high, with 136 ore pockets, and a working capacity of 6,000 tons per day. The aggregate capacity is about 15,000 tons per day.

More than one quarter of all the iron produced in the United States is made from the ores of Marquette. In 1873 the shipments of ore from this range amounted to 1,167,379 tons; pig-iron, 71,507 tons; ore and pig-iron combined, 1,238,886 tons, valued at \$11,395,887. The total product of all the mines from 1856 to 1875, inclusive, was 8,619,519 tons of ore; pig-iron, 601,104 tons; ore and pig-iron combined, 9,160,224 tons, valued at \$69,155,494. From 1875 to 1888—not inclusive of the latter year—there were shipped 16,688,275 tons of ore, making a grand aggregate since 1856 of 25,207,794 tons, or a cash value of \$188,428,260+.

Marquette was incorporated as a city



February 27, 1871. The first election under the charter was held April 3, when H. H. Stafford was chosen mayor, and Arch. Benedict recorder. An effective fire department was organized after the great fire of 1868, which destroyed nearly all the business part of the city. About the same time the city was supplied with gas and with a Holly system of water-works. The city has an excellent system of public schools, a public library and a prosperous daily newspaper—*The Marquette Mining Journal*.

Marquette is a cathedral town, the seat of the Roman Catholic cathedral of St. Peter's and of the Episcopal residence of the Rt. Rev. John Vertin, D. D., bishop of the diocese of the Upper Peninsula. The cathedral is one of the finest churches in the state, and is nearly completed at a cost of \$160,000. It is of the beautiful Marquette free stone, as are also most of the other churches in the city. It is rare to find so many fine churches in a city of the size and age of Marquette. The Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches are fine structures, and—as a symbol of good fellowship, I take it, and perhaps also of the aspirations they all cherish towards higher spiritual attainments—they are grouped in friendly proximity to each other on the most select hill in the city. It might not inappropriately be called "Zion's hill."

The deposits of iron ore which occasioned the settlement of Marquette first became practically known in the year 1844. I take the following account of their discovery from the historical address of Honorable S. P. Ely, delivered on the fourth of July, 1876:

In the summer of that year [1844] the late William A. Burt, deputy surveyor under Dr. Houghton for the linear survey of this portion of the Upper Peninsula, was engaged in running the township lines in this county [Marquette], and on the eighteenth of September encamped with his party at the east end of Teal lake. Mr. Jacob Houghton was a member of the party, and he gives the following account of the first discovery of iron ore, which I extract from A. P. Swineford's excellent history and review of this region: "On the morning of the nineteenth of September, 1844, we started to run the line south between ranges twenty-six and twenty-seven. As soon as we reached the hill to the south of the lake, the compassman began to notice the fluctuations in the variation of the magnetic needle. We were, of course, using the solar compass of which Mr. Burt was the inventor, and I shall never forget the excitement of the old gentleman when viewing the changes of variation—the needle not actually traversing alike in any two places. He kept changing his position to take observations, all the while saying, 'How could they survey this country without my compass? What could be done here without my compass?' It was the full and complete realization of what he had foreseen when struggling through the first stages of his invention. At length the compassman called for us all to come and see a variation which would beat them all. As we looked at the instrument, to our astonishment the north end of the needle was traversing a few degrees to the south of west. Mr. Burt called out, 'Boys, look around and see what you can find.' We all left the line, some going to the east, some going to the west, and all of us returned with specimens of iron ore, mostly gathered from outcrops. This was along the first mile from Teal lake. We carried out all the specimens we could conveniently." Mr. G. N. Mellen of Romeo, Michigan, who was one of the party, has still in his possession one of the specimens found that day. This, it may be safely asserted, was the first discovery by white men of iron ore on Lake Superior.

The development of this ore affords a history quite as marvelous in some of its aspects as that of its discovery. The mysterious Providence that shapes the destinies of men and nations seems to have been at work drawing men from their comfortable homes into the wilder-

ness to prepare the way for others destined to aid in developing the immense resources hidden in lands hitherto deemed worthless.

When the Upper Peninsula was offered to the state in lieu of the small strip set off to Ohio from her southern border in 1836, it was hardly considered worth accepting as a gift. But influences were at work which in less than a decade developed the promise that this rugged Upper Peninsula was destined to become the richest portion of the state of Michigan.

Prior to the first great step taken by the government in the construction of the ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie, which was finished in 1855, whereby the ores of these exhaustless mines might be shipped down the lakes to the borders of the coal fields of Ohio and Pennsylvania, the pioneers had done the hardest of their work in preparing the way and rendering this and every other practical step in the mining enterprises of this region possible. If the explorers and discoverers of the mines are worthy of a place in history, surely those who have developed them and planted civilized communities in these wilds are entitled to higher honor. The debt of gratitude to the pioneers can never be fully discharged. They displayed more steadiness and hardihood, more patience and endurance, more fertility of resource amidst trials and difficulties than have ever been exhibited by soldiers on battlefields, whose path of duty led to unknown graves. No monument can be reared that shall adequately record the deeds of these real heroes, who, in the settlement of this rugged and remote region, en-

countered perils and hardships which the present generation can little appreciate.

The following will introduce to the reader one of these pioneers, who was the first to erect his home and forge, and begin the process of reducing iron ore on the site of the city of Marquette:

AMOS ROGERS HARLOW.

Amos Rogers Harlow, whose portrait accompanies this sketch, was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, on the twenty-third of April, 1815. He is a lineal descendant of Captain William Harlow, who came to Plymouth colony in the year 1642. It is related in Thatcher's 'History of Plymouth,' that, at the close of King Philip's war, when the fort built by the pilgrims at Plymouth was no longer needed as a defence against the Indians, it was taken down and its timbers sold to William Harlow, who used the same in the construction of his house. The old mansion is still standing, and during the summer of 1887 was identified as the house built and occupied by William Harlow more than two hundred years ago, by one of his descendants, William T. Harlow, esq., of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Honorable William T. Davis, ex-member of congress and author of the 'Landmarks of Plymouth.' An interesting letter, giving an account of the discovery and identification of the house, was published in the New England Home Journal, at Worcester, and copied into the *Marquette Mining Journal* of August 22, 1887.

Many of Mr. Harlow's ancestors on both sides lived in the towns of Duxbury and Marshfield in the old colony. His



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*Amos A. Phelps*





parents, Abner and Persis (Rogers) Harlow, were born in Plymouth county, and removed to Shrewsbury in 1813. Here Mr. Harlow received a common school education, and in 1830, at the age of fifteen, went to Worcester, Massachusetts, to learn the trade of a machinist—the terms of his apprenticeship being that he should serve until he was twenty-one, and should receive, in addition to his board, six weeks of schooling and forty dollars a year. The failure of his employer in 1834 released him from the unexpired part of his engagement. But having been a diligent and apt apprentice, and, withal, pleased with his occupation, he had made such rapid progress that in 1835 he was qualified to engage in the manufacture of woolen machinery on his own account, which occupation he followed successfully until June, 1849. In the meantime he married, on the twenty-third of April, 1839, Elizabeth M. Barber of Worcester, who died at that place January 29, 1840, leaving an infant son, George Prentice. On September 28, 1844, he married Olive Lavira Bacon, the estimable lady who is still his companion after forty-four years of married life, and who has shared with him the privations and hardships incident to the settlement of a new country.

When the discovery of iron ore on Lake Superior became widely known, companies were formed for the purpose of developing and utilizing the ore. The first company of the kind to operate in this region was the Jackson Iron Mining company, organized in 1847, and which in that year took possession of the Jackson mines, twelve miles west of Marquette.

Mr. Harlow and others at Worcester had in contemplation the organization of a company to operate in the section known as Moody's location. They deemed it advisable to move with caution. Mr. Harlow went to Boston to consult with Professor Whitney, who, with Professor Foster, had conducted the geological survey of the Upper Peninsula, but whose valuable report had not then been published. On the fifth of March, 1849, Mr. Harlow organized the Marquette Iron company, consisting of himself, Waterman A. Fisher and Edward Clark of Worcester, and Robert J. Graveraet of Mackinac, Michigan.

While the company were making preparations for the shipment of their supplies and equipments, Mr. Graveraet, with nine others from Mackinac, went forward to secure possession of the mines and to begin operations, arriving at Moody's location early in May. Of this party were Honorable Peter White, then a lad of eighteen; Dr. E. C. Rogers, a brother of Randolph Rogers, the sculptor; James Chapman and others. Samuel Moody, proprietor of the location, and John H. Mann had been there during the previous summer and winter.

Mr. Harlow and his party from Worcester, consisting of his wife and daughter, his mother-in-law, Mrs. Martha W. Bacon, Mr. Edward Clark, and a number of mechanics and employes, arrived at Sault Ste. Marie on July 2, 1849, by steamers from Buffalo and Detroit. It was the cholera season, and excessively hot on the lower lakes; cholera broke out on board the steamer which brought them from Buffalo to Detroit, and the captain died

on that trip at Milwaukee. They had, however, changed boats at Detroit, but cholera also broke out on this, and one of the passengers died before reaching Mackinac. Mr. Harlow made arrangements to leave his family at Sault Ste. Marie in care of the Baptist mission, and came on with the rest of the party and such provisions as they could take on board the little schooner *Fur Trader*, arriving at Carp river, now Marquette, on the sixth of July, 1849.

Casting anchor ten miles out in the lake in a dead calm, they fired the little swivel on board as a signal, and were met and rowed to shore in a Mackinac boat by some of their men who had preceded them—Lorenzo Wheelock, Major Clark and a carpenter named Jacobs. There were on board at this arrival Amos R. Harlow and Edward Clark of the company; Charles Johnson of the Jackson forge; Samuel Moody, one of the proprietors of Moody's location; James Kelly, a carpenter, Pierson Cowee and a man named Gates, machinists.

At the Jackson forge, twelve miles west, were Philo M. Everett, the superintendent of the works, now the oldest living resident of Marquette county; A. N. Barney and family; Edgar Kidney and family; Joshua Hodgkins and family; James Peters, James McKerchie and Nahum Keyes.

Charley Kobogum, the Indian landlord, kept the only place of entertainment at the landing—the "Cedar House," referred to in Mr. White's reminiscences. Both Mr. White and Mr. Harlow testify to the good fare of fish, duck, fresh venison, and vegetables from the Indian garden near

the lake shore, with which he regaled them after their surfeit of salt pork and stale bread on board the boat. Charley's squaw, Margaret, was quite a famous cook and hostess. Mr. Harlow boarded in the Indian shanty until he erected a small house of his own.

Peter White, who, as I have said, went to Moody's location in May, thus refers to the arrival of Mr. Harlow:

On the tenth of July we came away from the mountains, bag and baggage, arriving at the lake shore, as we then termed it, before noon. Mr. Harlow had arrived with quite a number of mechanics, some goods, lots of money, and what was better than all, we got a glimpse of some female faces. We were all much excited and buoyant with the hope of bright and dazzling prospects before us.

At one o'clock that day we commenced clearing the site of the present city of Marquette. We began by chopping off the trees and brush at the point of rocks near the brick blacksmith shop, just south of the shore end of the Cleveland ore docks.

On the thirteenth of July Mr. Harlow started on his return trip to Massachusetts. Mr. Graveraet and Mr. Clark repaired, *via* Lake Michigan, to Milwaukee to employ laborers. The former returned in due time with a large number of employés, mostly Germans and French. But Mr. Clark was taken with cholera and died on his way back at Sault Ste. Marie—at least his disease was supposed to have been cholera, though it may have been the malignant ship fever which made a hospital of the little settlement upon the arrival of the immigrants from Milwaukee, and so frightened the Indians that most of them fled precipitately up the lake in their canoes.

In the latter part of August, Mr. Harlow returned. His family had preceded him by a few days, having met with an

opportunity to come up from the Sault. The chances to reach here at that time were very uncertain, as there were but few boats on the lake and none made regular trips to this point. Ontonagon was the chief point of destination for the Lake Superior boats at that time, and if any of them turned aside to convey either freight or passengers here, it was because extra inducements were offered them. The small propellers, *Napoleon* and *Independence*, were the only ones then plying on Lake Superior, and the little schooner *Fur Trader* was about the only resource of the settlers at Iron Bay.

Mr. Harlow brought on from Worcester a thirty-five horse-power engine and boilers, sets of machinists' tools, the necessary machinery and appliances for a forge, circular saw-mill, etc. After some delays on the way they arrived here on the schooner *Fur Trader*, Captain Calvin Ripley, commander. Of course there was no dock or landing for the vessels, and the rock in the harbor, afterwards known as Ripley's Rock, was used as a dock for the time being. The schooner, being of light draft, was brought up alongside the rock, the heavy machinery unloaded thereon, and a slide or track constructed thence to the shore. In this manner the engine was landed; the boilers were plugged at both ends and floated or rolled to the shore.

Not merely in getting their first plant established, but in the progress of their work, many difficulties arose which it was impossible for men inexperienced in mining and making iron to have anticipated. And then the distance was so great to get anything that was needed. Mr. Harlow

was a good machinist and perfectly at home in a well ordered machine-shop, but here were conditions which his experience had not encountered. To all of them the business was new, to be prosecuted under new circumstances, and many necessary appliances had to be improvised; yet "Yankee genius," as on thousands of other occasions, was equal to the emergency.

In October, 1849, Mr. Harlow put in operation a steam saw-mill—the first in Marquette—and the night following sawed the shingles and shingled the first house in the place by moonlight. Those who have seen an Indian summer moonlight upon the soft autumn scenery of this bay may well imagine the beauty of the scene. But probably Mr. Harlow was so urgently pressed in securing a shelter for his wife and family that he thought of it more as a utility than as a beauty. It is so with us ever; we think of things and experiences in the light of whatever most absorbs us at the time. In order to appreciate the beauties of nature, we must have leisure from the pressing demands of bread and shelter and the necessities of life. Previous to this Mr. Harlow's family had occupied the little cedar hut upon the bank. The Indians here at that time were very kind and hospitable.

On November 30, 1849, the first post-office was established under the name of Worcester. Mr. Harlow was appointed postmaster. The first settlers seem not to have been aware that the name of Marquette had been given to the county and township, which now bear the memorial name of the famous Jesuit father, as early as 1843. But such was the fact, although it is not known by whom the name was

proposed in the legislature. The act establishing the county was passed March 9, 1843, and that establishing the township March 16, 1847. Marquette county was at first attached to Houghton county for judicial purposes, and was not organized as a separate county until September 4, 1851. The township of Marquette was not organized until July 15, 1850. The first election was held at the house of Mr. Harlow, pursuant to notice signed by Robert J. Graveraet, Samuel Moody, Lorenzo Harding, Heman B. Ely and Amos R. Harlow, at the date last mentioned. Mr. Harlow was chosen supervisor, highway commissioner and justice of the peace.

Soon after the organization of the township the name of the post-office was changed to Marquette. The mails at first were received monthly, being carried by packers—in winter on snow-shoes—and deposited in a tree at Lake Michigamme, at the junction of the Carp river and Menominee trails to L'Anse.

Supplies for Marquette at this early time were mostly procured—at great risk in stormy weather—from Sault Ste. Marie. In November, 1849, Mr. Harlow dispatched thither a Mackinac sailing boat for some necessary articles. The boat was wrecked near White Fish Point and all on board perished. Of the five bodies three were found—two on the boat and one the next spring on the beach, where it had been cast by the waves. (The names of the men are given in Mr. White's reminiscences).

Honorable S. P. Ely, in his historical address, dates the founding of Marquette from the arrival of Mr. Harlow and his party in July, 1849. Mr. Harlow is, there-

fore, justly regarded as the founder of the city. Of those who came with him or were sent by his company, none remain save Honorable Peter White, who has been his contemporary and active coadjutor in building up the city from its foundation.

The Marquette forge, at which Mr. Harlow produced the first iron bloom, was located near the lake shore, just south of Superior street, and was put in operation by him July 6, 1850, the anniversary of his arrival. It continued in operation, somewhat irregularly, until the spring of 1853, when the Marquette Iron company was consolidated with the Cleveland Iron company. The latter continued to operate the forge until it was destroyed by fire in the winter of 1858.

About the same time that he started the forge, Mr. Harlow laid out the first plat of the village of Marquette. This plat, somewhat modified and changed as to its streets, was recorded by the Cleveland Iron company, September 8, 1854, and is known as the Cleveland plat.

In August, 1852, Mr. Harlow purchased of the government the land and interest known as the New York mine. It is situated at Ishpeming and is still the property of Mr. Harlow. After the consolidation of the Marquette and Cleveland companies, he turned his attention to lumbering and to the management of his large estate in the city and his farm in the vicinity. In the disposition of a portion of his real estate, he has made six additions to the city, as follows: First, July 17, 1855; second, April 30, 1859; third, July 26, 1867; fourth, December 29, 1870; fifth, September 22, 1871; sixth, March 15, 1877.



The diary kept by Mr. Harlow during the first years of his residence here furnishes excellent data respecting the pioneer days of the city. The first religious service held in Marquette was by Professor Williams of Alleghany college, who came to the Peninsula for his health, and in August, 1849, by invitation of Mrs. Harlow, preached in her home. The Indians brought in logs and placed them round the room for seats, covering them with cedar boughs for cushions. There was but one corner of the room floored, and that was a sort of platform for the stove to stand upon. Mr. Williams stood upon part of this platform and "preached a sermon good enough for any city audience." In 1850 the Marquette company sent hither Dr. Morse, who was a regular Congregationalist minister and also a physician holding a diploma from the Vermont Medical college. He preached here one year and returned to New Hampshire.

In 1857 Mr. Harlow and his family assisted in organizing the First Presbyterian church of Marquette. They have ever been exemplary members, Mr. Harlow holding an official position in the church and being one of its most liberal supporters.

He was a Whig in the early days, but has been a staunch Republican since the organization of the latter party. He has, however, never been a politician, nor held offices, except such as have been conferred upon him without his seeking, serving his townsmen in the capacity of justice of the peace, supervisor, county clerk, alder-

man, notary public, etc. His honor and integrity have always been unquestioned, and his influence on the side of morality and religion. He has lived to see the town which he founded become a thriving busy city.

His son by the first marriage, George Prentice Harlow, resides in Ogden, Utah. His daughter, Ellen Josephine, born in Worcester, Massachusetts, was married June 13, 1877, to Honorable Frederick Owen Clark of the Marquette bar, and present mayor of the city. They have two children, a daughter and a son.

Mrs. Martha W. Bacon, of whom a word should be here spoken, was one of the noblest of the pioneer women of our country. Through all the hardships of the early settlement she afforded a constant example of cheerfulness, courage and energy. She lived to see the prosperity of the place which she had no small share in founding, and went to her rest full of years and honors.

As a business man Mr. Harlow has been successful. Unlike many who have devoted their energies to pioneer industries under the hard and exhausting conditions of a new country, he has been able to save out of his various enterprises a comfortable competence. Generally speaking, the pioneer miners of this region did little more than prepare the way for their successors to reap more largely the profits of their labors, leaving their own fortunes unmade, and the time and means invested swallowed up in the efforts and experiments necessary to put the business on a success-

ful footing. It was not until 1862 that the business of mining and shipping ore became profitable enough to admit of any returns from the capital invested. That was the first year that dividends were declared. In the meantime many of the first investors—as, for example, the original Jackson Mining company—had lost their whole interest invested in the property. But Mr. Harlow's fortune has been different. True, indeed, he did not continue wholly in the mining interest. And perhaps it is the secret of his success that his versatile mind has enabled him to manage a variety of interests and to turn to account whichever seemed most promising. Thus, while others clung to their dead mining stock and sank with it, he turned to the living interests of lumbering, farming and real estate. He built and operated no less than six saw-mills at different points. Besides his interest in farming and mining lands, he is a large proprietor of real estate in the city, including some of the best business blocks and the ample private park in which stands his residence. This park is called "Crescent Park," from the form

of the main terrace or embankment which circles nearly round it. On the top of this is the principal drive. The central portion is in the general form of a basin, diversified with slopes, terraces and mounds. The highest mound is called "Lily Hill" and is crowned with a large granite boulder. Near the centre of the basin is a trout pond, formed by a living spring which flows out from among the ferns and mosses. The park, which is about seven acres in extent, is covered with every variety of native tree, shrub, plant and flower, and with hundreds of varieties which have been planted and cultivated. Mr. Harlow had the ground laid out as a surprise to his wife upon her return from one of her visits to the east, his design being to furnish her with a beautiful and healthy open air retreat in which she might drive her own horse and carriage at her leisure. Although the natural situation favored his design, the grading and other improvements have been made at a considerable expense. The place has served as the family botanical garden.

W. W. CLAYTON.

[To be continued.]

# EARLY SETTLERS' ASSOCIATION OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY, OHIO.

IN accordance with a long cherished desire for the formation of a permanent organization of the early settlers of this county, for the two-fold purpose of cultivating an intimate acquaintance with each other and perpetuating the kindly feelings for which pioneer life was proverbial, and to secure the preservation of much of the unwritten history of our county and its vicinity, the writer of this article wrote and personally circulated, in the fall of 1879, a call for a public meeting of its citizens, with a view of effecting such an organization. He met with very little encouragement at first, for all to whom he presented it seemed to think—and some said in so many words—that it would not be a success, and declined signing it until others had done so. On presenting it to the venerable General H. H. Dodge, he said to him, "O, get some of the old folks to sign it first." After several similar repulses he went from the Public square to the residence of George Mygatt, corner of Euclid and Sterling avenues, after dark, where he obtained the first signature to the call. On his return he called on General John Crowell, who was the second one to sign it. Finally he secured the signatures of the subjoined named citizens, which he desires to give a place in this article as a matter of record and interest in future years. Nearly one-third of them have already "gone to that bourn from whence no traveler returns," and the rest can only say:

"We a little longer wait,  
Yet how little none can know."

Our annual meetings are now held on the anniversary of the arrival of Moses Cleaveland and his surveying party at the then wilderness where now stands our beautiful and rapidly growing city, July 22, 1796, except when that comes on Sunday, and then on Monday following. We persistently keep in mind both of the objects of our organization, and in both are quite successful, though we have not succeeded as well as we wish in obtaining interesting items of local history and biographical sketches, but in this we are doing better each succeeding year, as our annual published proceedings show.

We have in the last number of the 'Annals' of our association 749 names of members, including 19 honorary members, of whom 127 had died previous to our last meeting and several have since then. Our record of their nativity, time of birth, time of coming to the "Western Reserve" (forty years' residence on the Western Reserve renders persons eligible to membership) and that of their death is now a very interesting source of information and is constantly becoming more so. Nothing in existence can supply its place; and this fact alone is securing many new members. We endeavor to make our association a model one for every county in our state and Nation, and in this way secure, in an authentic form, much valuable information for future his-

torians' use that will otherwise be entirely lost, or, at best, have a vague and uncertain existence.

At our next annual meeting we expect to celebrate the completion of a bronze statue of General Moses Cleaveland, which will greatly add to the interest of the occasion.

H. M. ADDISON.

The following, as further setting forth the history of this organization, is taken from the 'Annals of the Early Settlers' Association,' No. 1, published in 1880: The first step which led to the organization of the 'Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga County' was taken by H. M. Addison, who was "father of the thought," and who published in the fall of 1879 several articles in the Cleveland newspapers relative to the project. These articles having created a favorable impression, so encouraged him that he circulated a written call for a public meeting of the pioneers and early settlers of Cleveland, for the purpose of consultation and effecting a permanent organization of such an association. The call was signed by a goodly number of Cleveland's prominent citizens, among whom were the following: George Mygatt, John Crowell, Ahimaz Sherwin, William H. Stanley, Erastus Smith, John W. Allen, J. P. Bishop, S. L. Blake, M. Barnett, Elijah Smith, Daniel R. Tilden, William Fuller, H. B. Payne, L. Dow Cottrell, John A. Foot, Homer Strong, Milo Bosworth, John Wicken, Harvey Rice, James A. Bolles, W. S. Rulison, A. R. Chapman, Jabez Hall, J. E. Twitchell, R. R. Herrick, N. B. Sher-

win, S. Williamson, John C. Grannis, H. P. Weddell, James Barnett, E. B. Hale & Co., P. R. Everett, Edmund P. Morgan, R. R. Root, R. C. Parsons, O. F. Welch, George O'Conner, John Welch, Henry H. Dodge, Elijah Bingham, Moses White, George C. Dodge, J. A. Vincent, J. C. Saxton, J. J. Elwell, Elias Cozad, W. H. Doan, W. H. Hayward, T. P. Handy, John C. Covert, O. H. Mather, James D. Cleveland, S. J. Andrews, W. Bingham, J. H. Wade, A. Everett, E. S. Root, William Perry Fogg, Moses Warren, T. J. Clapp, J. C. Brewer, E. S. Flint, George B. Merwin, W. S. Streator, M. S. Castle, Henry Wick, Charles Whittlesey, Daniel W. Duty.

In response to this call a large number of pioneers and early settlers convened at the probate court-room, on the evening of November 19, 1879, organized the meeting by appointing Honorable John W. Allen chairman, and H. M. Addison secretary, and after a free discussion and interchange of views relative to the object of the meeting [and the adoption of a constitution], . . . proceeded to the election of officers to serve until the annual meeting to be held on the second Monday of January, 1880, as provided in the constitution, to-wit:

Honorable Harvey Rice, president; Honorable Sherlock J. Andrews and Honorable John W. Allen, vice-presidents; George C. Dodge, secretary and treasurer; executive committee, R. T. Lyon, Thomas Jones, S. S. Coe, W. J. Warner and David L. Wightman.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned to the first regular meeting, January 12, 1880, at the same place.



At a regular meeting of the association, held January 12, 1880, at the probate court-rooms pursuant to adjournment, nearly one hundred members being present, Honorable Harvey Rice, president, called the meeting to order, and after a few preliminary remarks from him and Vice-President Andrews, the meeting proceeded to business.

On motion of George C. Dodge, esq., secretary, the constitution was slightly amended in its phraseology so as to read as herein recorded.

On further motion, the following officers were appointed to serve for the ensuing year, Judge Andrews declining a reelection, to-wit :

Honorable Harvey Rice, president ; Honorable John W. Allen, Honorable Jesse P. Bishop, vice-presidents ; Thomas Jones, jr., secretary ; George C. Dodge, treasurer.

Executive committee—George F. Marshall, R. T. Lyon, M. M. Spangler, Darius Adams and John H. Sargent.

## ENOCH BROWN.

[On the twenty-sixth of July, 1764, a band of Indians fell upon a school-house, then in Cumberland county, now Franklin county, Pennsylvania, and killed the teacher and all the pupils but one. The teacher's name was Enoch Brown. There were but ten pupils in the school, eight boys and two girls. The pupil who escaped, Archie McCullough by name, had been wounded and scalped, and left for dead; but by careful nursing he recovered. The teacher, who, in character and acquirements, is said to have been far above the average of his class at that time, and the nine slain children were buried in one grave.—T. J. C.]

## ENOCH BROWN.

The humble school-house lonely stood  
Within the shadow of the wood,  
Where green trees wove their warp and woof  
Of foliage o'er the homely roof  
Of clapboards rough; the heavy door  
Swung on its wooden hinges; o'er  
The rude walls the clinging woodbine grew;  
No windows there, but crevices through  
Which young eyes looked out into the aisles  
Of forest depths that stretched for miles  
And miles away on every hand;—  
Oh, beautiful the forest land!  
The arching trees, that far o'erhead  
Their thick, green branches wide outspread,  
Deep shadow threw upon the ground;  
Beneath were lowly bushes found  
Whereon grew nuts, and lower still  
Wood flowers bloomed by rock and rill;  
There birds sang forth their roundelay;  
There squirrels barked the livelong day;  
There bounding through the forest glade  
The wild deer his appearance made;  
The wolf, the fox, the surly bear,  
All found a habitation there.

A summer morn: good Enoch, Brown,  
The master, though no cap or gown  
Marked his degree, now rapped the frame  
Of his rough door, when in there came  
Eight barefoot boys, two little maids—  
His pupils—that through forest shades  
Had come from homes where clearings lay  
Like islands basking in the day;  
Their dinner-pails and books well-worn,  
And criss-cross with its face of horn  
They brought; but now some signs of fear  
Upon their features did appear;  
And clustering 'round their teacher, told  
Of red men, murderous and bold,  
Whose presence in the woodlands green  
By them that morning had been seen.

Good Master Brown a moment wore  
A doubtful look; but soon he bore  
A cheerier face; and so he said  
He thought they must have been misled  
By some appearance false; a deer,  
Perhaps, had caused their sudden fear,  
Or fox among the thickets green;  
No Indians had lately been  
Perceived, he said, in all those parts;  
And with these words their quaking hearts  
He reassured; "But let us pray,"  
He said, and bowed his head of gray;  
The prayer was o'er; "Now let us sing"—  
And soon did voices gladly ring  
In childish treble on the air;  
"And now we'll read that chapter where  
It tells of him who left his home,  
In distant countries far to roam,  
But wearied soon, and turned in pain  
To seek his father's house again."

The well-worn Testaments were got,  
The designated place was sought,  
And so escaped from recent fright,  
Their timid thoughts grew gay and light;  
When hush! without a rustling sound  
That made their childish hearts rebound;  
Again, and then a moment more  
A painted face was at the door;  
Another and another; Oh! God but knows

How sank their hearts ; and then arose  
 A shriek of fear ; good Enoch Brown  
 In terror laid the volume down ;  
 Where could he turn ! What could he do !  
 Alone, unarmed ; this hideous crew  
 On blood and rapine all intent,  
 Were at his door ; the streams that went  
 Along his veins grew cold and chill ;  
 A moment stood he ; loud and shrill  
 The childish outcry smote his ear ;  
 They clung around him in their fear,  
 And lifted helpless hands and prayed  
 To him—all helpless, too—for aid ;  
 Though terrified, he yet was brave  
 With truest bravery ; to save  
 His youthful charge he'd freely give  
 His life, content that they should live.  
 Then to the door the master went ;  
 His face was pale, his figure bent,  
 But strong and resolute his heart ;  
 He scanned the foe;—with gun and dart  
 And murderous knife, they waiting stood,  
 The gory tenants of the wood.  
 The master stopped ; what could he say ?  
 Nor wolves nor bears more fierce than they ;  
 At sight of them in warlike paint,  
 With brandished arms, his heart grew faint,  
 But yet he strove, with earnest prayer,  
 To move their hearts that they should spare  
 Their victims all ; he begged at least  
 That they would spare the young ; their feast  
 Of cruelty on him to make,  
 And in his blood their vengeance slake.  
 But vainly he ; a cruel stroke  
 All further supplication broke,  
 And soon his scalp, all reeking red,  
 They tore in fury from his head.  
 Then pouring through the open door,  
 They struck their victims to the floor ;  
 Nor lifted hands, nor streaming eyes,  
 Nor earnest prayers, nor piteous cries,

Could melt their stony hearts ; but all  
 Beneath their savage blows must fall ;  
 From each fair head the scalp be torn,  
 As valor's trophies to be worn,  
 When oft around some midnight pyre  
 They mock their victim in his fire.

A little later in the day,  
 One passing by that lonely way,  
 Remarked the absence of the noise  
 And humming of the girls and boys,  
 And peering through the open door,  
 A ghastly sight upon the floor  
 Beheld ; grief, fear and horror ran  
 Through all the settlement ; no man  
 A deed so shocking e'er had known ;  
 For ne'er calamity had thrown  
 The heavy foldings of her pall  
 Across the homes and hearts of all.  
 And there beneath the greenwood shade,  
 Together were the murdered laid,  
 While high above them chestnuts wave  
 Their tasseled plumage o'er the grave.  
 A hundred years and more have swept  
 Along ; and they, and those who wept  
 For them, long, long since passed away,  
 Have mingled with their mother clay.

How changed the scene ! The woodman's stroke  
 Has lowly laid the towering oak ;  
 The Indian has disappeared—  
 No longer is his vengeance feared ;  
 No longer does the wild deer bound,  
 And spurn with flying feet the ground ;  
 No longer makes the wolf or bear  
 In forests depths his secret lair ;—  
 But fields of clover and of grain  
 Are waving now by stream and plain,  
 And o'er the hills the music swells  
 Melodiously of Sabbath bells.

—T. J. CHAPMAN.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE history of the American railroad, now in course of publication in this magazine, has received commendation from many quarters, and especially from railroad men; not so much from any merit of presentation, but because of the array of facts presented and the somewhat novel method of treatment. The purpose in this history is not only to relate such facts as are essential to show the growth and development of the greatest commercial factor of modern times, or ancient times, for that matter, but also to show the spirit in which its advent was received from day to day and year to year. To do this properly, the compiler has looked into many sources of information not generally opened—the cotemporary comment and newspaper speculation of the day. He has, also, allowed those who were upon the ground at the time to tell the story largely in their own language, believing that while compactness of statement may at times be lost, it will be more than paid for in the freshness of view presented, and in understanding somewhat the greatness of the new methods of travel and transportation that had dawned upon the world.

IN order that no point of interest or source of information may be overlooked, all who can shed light upon the inception or growth of the railroad, or any of its departments, are requested to do so, by communications of suggestion or criticism; by the relation of personal experiences, or the suggestion of authorities. There are many men yet living who saw the first tracks of the American railroad laid, and the first locomotives run upon this continent. Some of these, among whom is Horatio Allen, who had charge of the first locomotive upon this side of the sea, and whose daring dash over the uncertain trestle has been already recorded, are now in corres-

pondence with the writer, and their experiences and observations will appear in their proper place in the serial. There are yet others who have not been heard from, but who will be doubly welcome if they will but make their presence known.

ON Monday, June 11, the eighty-eighth birthday of Honorable Harvey Rice of Cleveland, president of the Early Settlers' Association, and author of 'Sketches of Western Reserve Life,' etc., was duly celebrated at his home on Woodland avenue, in an informal way. Scores of the old people, well supplemented by other scores of the middle-aged and young, called upon him and paid their respects, and congratulated him upon his strength and vigorous appearance. Mr. Rice's health is excellent, and he still finds heart for excellent literary work.

AT the annual meeting of the Northwestern Kansas Editorial association, held at Stockton in May, the address of the occasion was made by Judge F. G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas Historical society, upon "The Newspaper History of Northwestern Kansas."

PROSPER M. WETMORE, esq., of Columbus, whose suggestions as to the origin of the name "Put-in-Bay," and information as to Perry's victory, appeared several months since, has favored us with another communication in the same line, that possesses points of considerable historic interest. He says, under date of Columbus, Ohio, June 14, 1888:

"The letter of Commodore Perry announcing his victory on Lake Erie, containing the famous sentence: 'We have met the enemy and they are ours,' to whom was it written?

"In my article in the May number of the



Magazine of Western History, upon the subject of the origin of the name Put-in-Bay, I stated that it was addressed to the Honorable William Jones, secretary of the navy. Since reading your remarks in the June number of same magazine, page 191, I have re-examined 'Niles' Weekly Register,' Vol. V., page 60, and discovered that the address as printed there is omitted. It is a typographical error. It cannot be easily explained in writing, but can be seen and understood by those who can consult the volume. There are two letters from Commodore Hull upon that page, and the address to the first one is so inserted as to lead a reader to suppose that it was intended for the second, which is the one that contains the famous sentence. This second letter completes and fills the page, and the compositor may have omitted the address because there was not space for it. Thinking it would be of interest to you and the readers of your magazine, I give you below *verbatim* copies of the two letters from Commodore Perry, as printed on page 60, Vol. V., of 'Niles' Weekly Register.'

"Copy of a letter from Commodore Perry to the secretary of the Navy:

United States Brig *Niagara*, off the Western Sister,  
Head of Lake Erie, }  
September 10, 1813, 4 P.M. }

Sir:—It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

I have the honor to be sir

Very respectfully your obedient servant,  
O. H. PERRY.

The Honorable William Jones, Secretary of the Navy.

"Copy of second letter:

United States Brig *Niagara*, off Western Sister,  
Head of Lake Erie, }  
September 10, 1813, 4 P.M. }

Dear General:—We have met the enemy and they are ours, two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem,  
O. H. PERRY.

"The above letters, you will notice, are dated the same day and hour, and the second one, in my opinion, was addressed and sent to General Harrison, in command of the land forces at and near Sandusky, to whom immediate information should be communicated of the battle and the victory.

"Following on page 61 is another letter, of which I give you a copy:

September 11, 1812.

Dear Sir:—We have a great number of prisoners which I wish to land; will you be so good as to order a guard to receive them, and inform me the place? Considerable numbers have been killed and wounded on both sides. From the best information, we have more prisoners than we have men on board our vessels.

In great haste,

Yours very truly,

O. H. PERRY.

General Harrison.

"To show how the news of Perry's victory was received by General Harrison's army, I will give you an extract from a book the title of which is 'A Western Pioneer, or Incidents of the Life and Times of Rev. Alfred Brunson, A. M., D. D. Written by himself. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1872.' Vol. I., p. 121:

The day after Perry's victory on the lake, our army at Seneca, not yet knowing of it, marched to Lower Sandusky, with a view to concentrating the whole of the army at Fort Meigs and thence to Walden by land, to co-operate with the fleet in an attack upon that stronghold. Numerous Mackinaw boats had been provided for our troops to cross the head of the lake in, when the enemy's fleet were kept in check, but where we were to take the boats was not a settled question. On reaching Lower Sandusky and before we had time to pitch our tents, we saw a boat coming up the river with all the speed oars could give her. As soon as the officer in command reached the fort on the hill, we were camping on the bottom. Next to the river we heard a tremendous shout and hurraing and then the booming of cannon. All eyes were turned in that direction, knowing that something glorious had occurred, what, we could not guess. But we saw a man running down the hill at break-neck speed, who announced the victory on the lake, when the troops who had just arrived joined in the universal shout and rejoicing. Before the shout had subsided,

orders came not to pitch our tents, but march at once to the mouth of Carrying or Put-in-Bay river to receive the prisoners.

"Although the opinion is expressed above that the 'Famous Letter' was written to General Harrison, I do not think the information furnished by me is sufficient to establish the fact. I hope some other correspondent can furnish conclusive evidence.

Yours truly,  
PROSPER M. WETMORE."

It is to be hoped that someone can furnish Mr. Wetmore with the information he asks for.

THOSE who have an especial interest in the opening and settlement of the Northwest cannot but be pleased to learn that we have now in preparation a series of articles pertaining to Duluth and that portion of the Lake Superior region of which it is the metropolis. Publication will be commenced in an early issue. The wonderful strides which have been taken in the two past decades by that great "Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas," and the remarkable promises it holds out for the future, form the basis of a narrative of the most absorbing interest—for Duluth is to be one of the great cities of the new Northwest beyond any doubt. It is a wonderful region up around Lake Superior, and justice has never been fully done to its greatness or its claims. The pens of well-known writers will be engaged in the series above announced.

THE Davenport, Iowa, *Daily Times* contains an account of an event of unusual interest—the celebration in that city, on June 17, of the two hundred and fifteenth anniversary of the discovery of the Father of Waters by the Jes-

uit priests, Marquette and Joliet. As it this year fell on Sunday, the commemorative exercises prepared by the Historical Section of the Academy of Sciences were held Saturday evening. In spite of the intense heat, the audience room was comfortably filled. H. C. Fulton presided, and in a few apt words called attention to the value to the community of the work of the Historical section in preserving local history. The historians of posterity will be saved a great deal of trouble by finding methodically filed away in its archives authentic accounts of the early settlement and gradual development of this section of country. The main speech of the evening was a scholarly address from Professor J. M. De Armond, who spoke of the historical events that were to be commemorated in the gathering. His scholarly summing up of the forces which led to the discovery and colonization of the western world was listened to with intense interest. The three chief forces were declared to be the soldier, the priest and the trader; the incentives, dominion, conversion, and the avenues of wealth opened up by the free-trade. In comparing the three great powers struggling for supremacy, it was evident that in their effects upon the native inhabitants, the Spanish enslaved, the French converted, the English exterminated. A very appropriate *finale* to the programme was the reading of a poem written by O. W. Collett of the Missouri Historical society, on the death of Marquette. It was beautifully read by Mrs. M. L. D. Putnam, and the universal verdict was that the Historical section had, in the whole programme listened, provided a rare treat which those who were so fortunate as to defy the thermometer will not soon forget.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## A CORRECTION—OLIVER YET ALIVE.

*To the Editor of THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:*

DEAR SIR :—My attention has been called to an article in the March number of your Magazine, entitled, "With the Kansas Congressional Committee of 1856," by Amos Townsend, and I have read the same with interest. There is an error, however, which some friends think should be corrected. In a foot-note on page 504, it is stated that, "Mordecai Oliver remained in congress some years, but was not radical enough to meet the demands of his constituents, and so dropped out of public life. He died at his home in Missouri, honored by his neighbors and friends who knew him best, and respected by everyone." This is a mistake. Colonel Mordecai Oliver is not dead, but is now a resident and practicing lawyer of Springfield, Missouri. If he lives until October 22, he will be sixty-nine years of age. He was first elected to congress in 1852, and served two terms. He was not a candidate for re-election in 1856, owing to the fact that the Whig party, to which he belonged, had become in Missouri, at least, imbued with Know-Nothingism. His service in congress ended March 3, 1857.

When the Civil war broke out in 1861, Colonel Oliver remained a staunch Unionist. In July of that year the state convention met and ousted the state officers, who had deserted the capital and departed for southwest Missouri in company with General Sterling Price and his rebel followers. The convention established a provisional government, with Hamilton Gamble as governor; Willard P. Hall, lieutenant-governor; Mordecai Oliver, secretary of state, etc. Colonel Oliver served the state in that capacity faithfully until January 1, 1865, when he gave way to his successor, elected at the previous November election. He then removed to

St. Joseph, where he practiced law until a couple of years ago, when he removed to Springfield. He is still hale and hearty and the same courteous gentleman he was in 1856.

J. L. BITTINGER.

ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI, May 29, 1888.

## STATE MOTTOES AND MORMONISM.

*To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:*

SIR: Why is it that the state of Ohio has no motto?

She is not alone, however, for the same deficiency exists with Alabama, North Carolina, Indiana, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Tennessee and Texas. As for Utah, I can easily imagine that, with Mormonism within her borders, she has no right to place a motto on a blotted escutcheon. Mormonism is not only a black spot in her history, but it is also a dark stain in the history of our country, and since 1830 it has been a festering sore in our body politic. It is no credit to the state of New York that the sect came into existence at Manchester, or to Ohio that they found a home there, or to Illinois that they were permitted to prosper and increase in number in that state. Joseph Smith was an ignorant and an unprincipled man, and the whole thing would have sunk into its merited oblivion, before it was two years old, had not Brigham Young joined the Latter-Day Saints during the second year. Until recently our government does not seem to have been able, ready or willing to correct the evil; but I am glad to observe that congress has lately enacted laws which make polygamy a criminal offence. Some of the Mormon leaders have been imprisoned, and it is evident that the beginning of the end is near at hand.

C. W. DARLING,

Corresponding Secretary Oneida Historical Society.

## AMONG THE BOOKS.

'HISTORY OF PRUSSIA. TO THE ACCESSION OF FREDERIC THE GREAT—1134-1740, VOL. I. UNDER FREDERIC THE GREAT—1740-1745, VOL. II. UNDER FREDERIC THE GREAT—1745-1756, VOL. III.' By Herbert Tuttle, Professor in Cornell University (with maps). Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company.

The plan and scope of this work are admirable; the methods by which the purpose of the author has been worked out mark him as not only a student of history, but as also one who is thoroughly competent to teach. He covers completely the whole ground he has marked out. In his first volume he has described the political development of Prussia from the earliest times down to the death of the second king. The nature of his plan has led him to make somewhat minute research into the early institutions of Brandenburg, and throughout the whole work the development of the constitution has received more attention than "wars or treaties, than dynastic intrigues or territorial conquests." In the second and third volumes he has furnished the first half of what promises to be a complete account, descriptive and historical, of the reign of the third king of Prussia. A fourth volume, to be issued in the near future, will cover the period of the Seven Years' war, including the measures taken to heal the wounds left by that bloody struggle. A fifth will bring the story down to the death of Frederic.

The author has given years of special and careful study to his work, and seems fully competent to speak with certainty and authority, even though he may be treading on grounds which many have feared to approach, because of the great writers who have seemed to hold as their own because of early preëmption. But a mass of new information has been un-

earthed in the past few years, and historical treatment has improved in many respects over what it was a generation or so ago.

The work is one that has been before the people already long enough to show that it is sure of a welcome—the first volume being now in its second edition. It is bound to become one of the standards in Prussian history, and the volumes that have not yet appeared will be eagerly awaited.

'A CRITICAL HISTORY OF SUNDAY LEGISLATION FROM 321 to 1888, A. D.' By A. H. Lewis, D. D., author of 'Sabbath and Sunday,' 'Biblical Teachings Concerning the Sabbath and Sunday,' etc., etc. Published by D. Appleton & Company, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company.

Dr. Lewis has already given us several able works upon subjects allied to that chosen for this volume, and through them has become so well known to the reading public that no introduction is necessary. The theme is live and pertinent to the agitations and discussions going on all about us, as to how far the Sabbath should be a day of license, or to what extent the law-making powers should hold it in special control. The field entered is one not heretofore occupied in the literature of the Sunday question; and the book answers many questions which are pressing to the front. We are called back to the beginning of all Sunday legislation, as will be seen by a glance at the table of contents: "The Origin and Philosophy of Sunday Legislation," "Sunday Legislation Under the Roman Empire," "Sunday Legislation after the Fall of the Roman Empire," "Saxon Laws Concerning Sunday," "Sunday Laws in England," the same in various parts of Europe and in America at the various stages of National development, and much more that is suggested by the points mentioned. The



work is well written and seems to have been carefully prepared—in fact, it could not have covered the field, as it does, without deep and long-continued study by a scholar. It fills a field altogether its own, and fills it so thoroughly that little more can be asked for by any who are in search of knowledge concerning the theme of which it treats.

'IN MEMORIAM : REV. CHARLES CHAUNCEY DARLING ; HIS WIFE, ADELINE ELIZA DARLING ; THEIR SON, ELISHA COLT DARLING. A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION.' By General Charles W. Darling, secretary of the Oneida Historical society, Utica, New York, 1888.

This elegant book of over one hundred pages is indeed a noble memoriam of those to whom it is dedicated. Our pages in recent issues have given something of the families into which it runs. The work has been prepared with love and care, and is a valuable contribution to American genealogy. It is adorned with

cuts, tables, etc., and is most admirably arranged.

Pamphlets and minor publications :

'REMINISCENCES OF MORGAN L. MARTIN—1827–1887.' Edited and annotated, with biographical sketch, by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Reprinted from Vol. XI., 'Wisconsin Historical Collections.'

'UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON PORTRAITS: SOME OF THE EARLY AUTHORS.' Reprinted from the Magazine of American History, April, 1888.

'THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD: ITS RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT.' Argument of Creed Haymond, its general solicitor, made to a select committee of the United States senate, in March and April, 1888.

## THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The annual meeting of the Connecticut Historical society was held at their rooms on the evening of May 29, with an unusually large attendance. Before proceeding to ballot for officers, Dr. Trumbull remarked that he had occupied the chair for just a quarter of a century, and that he felt the time had come for him to retire from active service, especially as he had previously served for fifteen years as corresponding secretary—a record of just forty years' work. The ballot, however, resulted in his re-election, and in the election of other officers, all as follows: President, J. Hammond Trumbull; treasurer, J. F. Morris; recording secretary, Frank B. Gay; corresponding secretary, Charles J. Hoadly. Vice-presidents as follows: Henry Barnard, Franklin B. Dexter of New Haven, John P. C. Mather of New

London, L. N. Middlebrook of Bridgeport, John W. Stedman, Robbins Battell of Norfolk, James Phelps of Essex and Dwight Loomis of Rockville. Mr. C. J. Hoadly, state librarian, exhibited a highly interesting document of date 1657, relating to the difficulties of that "drunken old liar" Uncas with the Pacomtuck (Pocumtuck) Indians, which the United Colonies were called on to settle. The paper was one of instructions to the delegates, Griffin and Gilbert, and was signed by Governor John Winthrop and several ex-governors and ancestors of governors of the state, and is in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop. The first meeting of the society for the coming season will probably be held in October.





*Engraved by Samuel Sartain, Phila.*

*J. Edgar Thompson*